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Mary Cover Jones

HAROLD E. JONES AND MARY C. JONES,
PARTNERS IN LONGITUDINAL STUDIES

With Introductions by
Ernest R. Hilgard
R. Nevitt Sanford

An Interview Conducted by
Suzanne B. Riess
in 1981-1982



MARY COVER JONES
1975

Photograph Courtesy G. Paul Bishop

Saturday, September 12, 1987

Mary Cover Jones

A memorial service for Mary Cover Jones, professor emeritus at the University of California who devoted 55 years to UC's celebrated Oakland Growth Study, will be held at 4 p.m. Wednesday in the Faculty Club on the Berkeley campus.

Mrs. Jones, who died July 22 in Santa Barbara at the age of 90, followed the lives of a group of Oakland and Berkeley residents from their teenage years into old age. She came to know not only the original participants but their parents, children, grandchildren and, in a few cases, great-grandchildren.

Although Mrs. Jones retired from the UC Berkeley faculty in 1960, she continued her research until last year.

She also studied the consequences of early versus late maturing in adolescence and conducted important research on problem drinking.

She received many honors, including the Stanley Hall Award for Distinguished Research Contributions by the American Psychological Association.

She was a native of Johnston, Pa., and a graduate of Vassar College. She received her doctorate from Columbia University. She moved from Berkeley to Santa Barbara in 1966.

Mrs. Jones is survived by two daughters, Barbara Coates of Claremont and Lesley Alexander of Santa Barbara; a sister, Louise Hill of Mariposa; six grandchildren and six great-grandchildren.

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INTRODUCTION

Mary Cover Jones and Harold Ellis Jones were married in 1920, three years before he completed his Ph.D. at Columbia, and six years before she completed hers--with two children in the meantime. The saga of their lives is intertwined with the rise of John B. Watson's behaviorism in the early years, and with the evolution of developmental psychology throughout their lives.

The oral account by Mary Cover Jones becomes an important intimate document to reflect how a professional couple working together in the same field can become individually distinguished and show little evidence of conflict because of their mutuality of interests. They were able to remain caring parents despite the hours of absence of both of them from their home. Although this is an account by Mary, sixty years after their marriage, it reflects Harold's life and career as well as hers.

Mary's reduction of the fears of the boy Peter became a classic. She used the conditioned response method of John B. Watson, whom they knew and who appears as a flesh-and-blood person in the account. Little did they know then how prominent behavior therapy was to become in later years.

After they moved together to the University of California at Berkeley, their careers were tied to the important longitudinal studies initiated there under Harold's leadership, and involving both of them thereafter. The teams of those who worked on these studies find their way into the account, because many were involved, and what started out as child development became life-span development as the years rolled by. We have here an account of an important era, probably not to be repeated again, reflected through the careers of two of those who were central in it.

September 30, 1982

Prepared by Ernest R. Hilgard

INTRODUCTORY NOTES

Several years ago I wrote "I believe that the culture and social structure of an academic institution can be changed, albeit by somewhat heroic measures, while changes in people who leave their academic positions are readily to be observed. Two more or less retired professors, a woman and a man, joined the staff of the Institute for the Study of Human Problems at Stanford soon after its beginning and immediately began to take a new lease on life. Their gaiety, eagerness to learn, and capacity to find excitement in a new venture contrasted sharply with the grim, know-it-all coolness of the striving academics who surrounded us."*

One of these retired professors was Mary Cover Jones, the other E. M. Jellinick, the expert on alcoholism. I had moved from Berkeley to Stanford in 1961 to establish the Institute mentioned above. The main funding of the Institute, which in time addressed a variety of problems, was a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health to the Cooperative Commission for the Study of Alcohol Problems. This was a national commission whose base of operations was at Stanford.

I think it was at the very beginning of the Institute's life that I asked Mary, who had just retired from her professorship at Berkeley, to join us in the work on alcohol problems. She seemed glad enough to do so. Her work centered mainly on personality in relation to alcoholism or problem drinking. Previous studies had shown that various personality characteristics are commonly found in association with problem drinking, but it had not been made clear which was cause and which was effect. What Mary did was interview 108 women and men who, when they were adolescents, had been subjects of the Oakland Growth Study. She found, as had other workers, that there were indeed personality dimensions on which problem drinkers were differentiated from other types of drinkers ("heavy," "moderate," "light," "abstainer") but, for the first time as far as I know, she showed that some of these differences were present when her subjects were adolescents. She was able to do this because these people in adolescence had been closely observed, interviewed in depth, and given a wide range of personality tests. Thus she was able to provide support for the hypothesis that there are durable personality characteristics, generated in the setting of family life, that predispose the individual to problem drinking.

Mary continued in this line of investigation during her five years with the Cooperative Commission and for some years after that. She published various papers on the correlates and antecedents of drinking patterns, the latest, I believe, in 1981. She may well have others in preparation.

This work shows clearly that Mary represents a kind of psychologist that has become too rare; that is, one brought up in the stern tradition of experimental psychology and thoroughly schooled in rigorous quantitative methods for the study of personality but who remains open to radically different approaches.

*Learning After College, Orinda, Ca., Montaigne, 1980, pp. 61-62.

Mary was originally trained in the theory and methodology of behaviorism, and during most of her career worked in accord with the tenets of this school of thought. One of the enemies of behaviorism was, and is, psychoanalysis, and it is my opinion that Mary, and her husband Harold, made little use of this body of theory and concepts. Yet they were always willing to listen to what I had to say on this subject. They gave the impression that they were eager to learn about it. I think they were eager to learn, period.

This approach to science requires strength of character. Mary has this in abundance, and when I was Director of the Institute at Stanford I was in a position fully to appreciate it. Anyone who takes on the responsibility of running a research institute, or any other organization I suppose, has to have some people around who can be relied upon absolutely. Mary is such a person. What my colleagues at Stanford and I appreciated especially was her loyalty, honesty, and forthrightness which, when combined with her good sense and tact, made her an ideal colleague.

Mary's integrity and moral courage are of long standing. (I do not know whether the following story appears in the oral history, but it ought to be on the record.) Mary was a student at Vassar College in 1917 when President Wilson declared war on Germany. Amid the burst of patriotism that followed this act there was a meeting at which the student body at the college voted overwhelmingly to support the president. Someone shouted, "Let's make it unanimous." They would have done so had it not been for Mary, who stood alone to say, "No." She was soon joined by a few other students.

I have written about Mary mainly on the basis of our close association during our years at Stanford. I have, in fact, known her since 1940, when my family and I moved to Berkeley. Harold was at that time Director of the Institute of Child Welfare and Mary was deeply involved in the Oakland Growth Study. I saw little of Mary in work situations in Berkeley, for we were in different departments, and during my half-time at the Institute of Child Welfare I was taken up with the Guidance Study. I knew about her research only in a vague and general way, but I felt that I knew her well as a person. When my family and I arrived in Berkeley she and Harold went beyond the call of duty in making us feel welcome. They entertained often in their home, where the groups of guests were large or small but almost always variegated. The talk was typically animated, and general, directed to the issues of the day rather than to scientific or administrative matters. Mary, ever the watchful and gracious hostess, devoted herself to drawing others out rather than taking the center of the stage herself. Alone now, Mary carries on this same tradition of generous hospitality. It is my impression, however, that now, more than in the past, she is likely to tell something about her work.

One more thing. As an assistant professor at Berkeley, and for quite a few years after that, come to think of it, I always felt that I had the moral support of Mary and Harold. It seems to me now that whenever I read a paper at a meeting of the American Psychological Association Mary was in the audience and spoke to me afterward. I valued this support highly and am grateful for it.



INTERVIEW HISTORY

Mary Cover Jones, Professor Emeritus, Education, UC Berkeley; Research Psychologist, Institute of Human Development--the titles suggest the reasons for wanting to interview the subject. Mary Jones' impressive curriculum vita, together with Deana Logan's article titled "Mary Cover Jones: Feminine as Asset," bracket the multitude of roles Mary Jones has played in her career and life. Both are appended and should be read.

At the outset of this introduction, I must describe the memoir that follows as an Early Life History. Mary Jones' name is synonymous with Longitudinal Studies, and we are aware that these interviews concentrate on the beginnings, with not as much follow through and follow up as we would have presented had it been financially feasible to record the complete story of all the years.

The interviews with Mary Cover Jones were conducted January 23, January 30, February 2, 1981, and on February 22, 1982. Mary Jones and the interviewer met in the living room of the Shasta Road home that the Joneses lived in for fifty years in Berkeley. I had prepared a list of outlined questions bringing in both global and particular aspects of the lives of Mary Cover and Harold Ellis Jones, because this was to be, insofar as possible, a dual biography. Mary Jones had studied her copy of these questions--not always the practice in doing oral history, but a result of the sense that for a developmental psychologist, this was the way to proceed--and she was well primed with thoughts and documents, and so we began.

Several months later, seeing the transcribed results of the first edited interviews, Mary Jones was skeptical of the value to The Bancroft Library of recollections that were to her thinking so relentlessly personal in nature. She proposed to make of the work two oral histories, editing out what was "for family." I argued against such a process. We also talked about the commonly-perceived problem for oral history interviews of making sure no one was "left out" in the story. Mary Jones took to a suggestion that she begin to write up her material on the Institute of Child Welfare (later the Institute for Human Development) prior to the next meeting, to be sure to cover the history to her own satisfaction.

The last interview took place a year after the first three sessions. In that time severe budget cutting within the University had eliminated the fund from which the oral history was to proceed. Without a clear sense of what future the oral history had, we chose to review the written material sent to the interviewer, in November 1981, and to record Mary Jones' thoughts on how she worked to keep the Longitudinal Study participants committed to returning. In the volume that follows, the written material comprises the final section, and the interview in which it was discussed precedes it.

On April 28, 1982, Professor Jack Block of the Department of Psychology, UC Berkeley, after having lunch with Mary Jones and learning about her oral history and its location in limbo, offered the Regional Oral History Office the services of his typist and word-processor. It was an opportunity that had to be seized instantly. We knew that Mary Jones would be able to make her final changes and corrections on the word-processed copy and we would be en route to a product. The energy of Jack Block, powered by his great fondness for Mary Jones, and the cooperation of the typist Joanie Singer, enabled us to complete our oral history. We are in Jack Block's debt.

We extend our thanks to Mary Jones for her understanding and good humor. We thank Ernest Hilgard for the careful historical note on his colleagues, Mary and Harold Jones. And we thank particularly Nevitt Sanford for taking time to write his fine, informative and familiar introductory words on his friend Mary.

Students of child development history, and readers of this autobiographical material, will wish to seek out Vicki Green's oral history of a half-century of the Institute of Human Development (IHD) at Berkeley, which will be deposited, when completed, in the Institute archives. Professor Green, on a sabbatical leave from Oklahoma State's department of psychology, 1981-82, became interested in creating a history at many levels of IHD's work and its staff, by questionnaire and oral history interviews of about twenty key participants. A brief presentation on that study is appended.

Milton Senn and Elizabeth Lomax have done work on the history of the child development movement ["The Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial: Some of its Contributions to Early Research in Child Development," Elizabeth Lomax, in Science and Patterns of Child Care, Freeman, 1978; Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development, Vol. 40, Nos. 3-4, Milton Senn] that gives an even broader context to Mary Jones' work. The Sanford, Eichorn, Honzik memorial for Harold E. Jones (1894-1960), husband and colleague of Mary Jones, and the Logan article [1980 Psychology of Women Quarterly] supplement the oral history in focusing on the personalities of these memorably human beings. [Appended]

The Regional Oral History Office was established to tape record autobiographical interviews with persons prominent in recent California history. The Office is under the direction of Willa K. Baum, and under the administration of James D. Hart, the Director of The Bancroft Library.

Suzanne B. Riess
Interviewer

January 10, 1983
Regional Oral History Office
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University of California at Berkeley

1. MARY COVER JONES

[Interview 1: January 23, 1981]

Family

Carrie Louise Higson

Riess: What do you know about your ancestors? How far back do you remember?

Jones: Well, it isn't how far I remember--but I do have some literature. I remember my grandmother on my father's side and both my grandparents on my mother's side.

Riess: Do you know their countries of origin?

Jones: Yes. I start with my mother. I have no illustrious ancestors, but I had a precious good mother and father. Here is a picture of my mother.

Riess: A very strong and put-together-looking woman, I must say.

Jones: You know this little thing that was written up about me for the Psychology of Women Quarterly? [Volume 5 (1), Fall 1980, pp. 103-115] Nevitt Sanford, who was interviewed for that, said he thought I was nurturant. Well, if I'm nurturant, I get it from my mother. After she died--some years--I was down in Carmel. I stood on a streetcorner, where I saw an older woman who reminded me of my mother. The thought came to me: nobody ever loved me in the same way as my mother did, unselfishly and completely. I'm sorry I never told her this. She was a grand person.

Her name was Carrie Louise Higson. She was born in Baltimore, Maryland in 1866. One of the outstanding things about her was that she had a good voice. She had very little voice training, but she sang when she was a young woman. For example, she was in Gilbert and Sullivan's The Mikado. She was "poor little Buttercup." So she used

to sing around the house quite a bit. My father has said to us girls, "Neither of you have voices as good as your mother." [laughs]

Riess: How many children were there?

Jones: There were three. I had an older brother, five years older, and a sister four years younger.

If you want the educational level, my parents went through high school. None of my parents went further formally than high school. I'll go on more about that when I come to my father, because he was more interested in education.

My mother was a housewife, and a loving mother, and did the things that most housewives do. She was a social and community person: she belonged to several organizations with other women. She was more sociable than my father.

Riess: Did you have grandparents living on her side?

Jones: Her parents, when I knew them, lived at School Place across from the high school. My grandmother was English and French in origin. She was born in Philadelphia on May 1, 1846. She was also a nurturant person. She baked on Friday. I went over after high school on Friday and got a slice of hot bread from the loaf just out of the oven. She was a great handiwork woman. She sent her little embroidered pieces to the state fair; she got prizes. She quilted; she had a quilting frame set up in her house, in the dining room. She was in charge of quilting for the Episcopal church group, and for the--is it the D.A.R., the Daughters of American Revolution?

Riess: Yes.

Jones: That was the kind of thing she did. If you want to see her quilts, I've got them on my beds! [laughs] We can look at them. And on the dining room table, I've got one of her embroidery pieces that won a prize at the fair.

Riess: Back in that generation was there talk about an "old country" at all, or a sense of pioneering?

Jones: No, really not. Her husband, John Higson, was an Englishman. I got a little more feeling from him of our background. The story that my brother tells me is that he [Higson] heard the American ambassador speaking in London about the slaves in this country. When we went to war, he came to this country to fight against the South. He landed in Philadelphia and was sent to a camp up in New York state, and that's where he met my grandmother. She lived in Elmira then. Her name was Anna Eliza Paxson. A Jaquette ancestor of hers came to the United States with Lafayette to fight in the American Revolution.

My grandfather Higson was wounded at the battle of Antietam. He was sent to Washington, D.C. to a hospital. The bullet went in his shoulder and came out further down his side. He wasn't getting better, and he used to get out of bed at the hospital, or the camp--whatever it was--and go and lie in the stream and let the water run over his wound. This is his story--that it saved his life. From there he was promoted in rank. But he never could fulfill the function because he never recovered from the wound completely. I can remember my grandmother helping him on with his coat, even forever.

I also remember that when he returned from work he would give a favorite call as he approached the door. Grandma would rush to the door, and jump into his arms. He caught her and tossed her in the air. She was petite. He was a large man.

Riess: Was your mother an only child?

Jones: No! The oldest sister was Kate. There were baby twins, boys, who died. Then my mother. Then my Aunt Agnes. Then my Uncle Alec. There was a Mary who died as a young woman; she had had typhoid fever. But when I was growing up, I had my Aunt Kate, who was a public school teacher, and my Aunt Agnes, who was married and had children. She followed my grandmother's interest in handiwork more than the others.

My Uncle Alec went to college. He went to Penn State, where he also played football on the college team. He married and had a child, but he died rather young.

There's a question here [in interviewer's outline] about who else might have been a parent figure. I would say that maybe my Aunt Kate to some extent.

Riess: All of these births and deaths--was there a lot of trauma associated with that?

Jones: I wasn't present when many of these people died. But I was present when my grandfather Higson died. He was ill, but he was an old man. I don't think there was any feeling that it wasn't his time.

The only traumatic death that I remember from my childhood was my Aunt Agnes's baby boy. I don't think he was more than a year. I used to love him and carry him around. He died of spinal meningitis. I can remember the sadness of the parents. But there wasn't a great deal of death in my childhood.

You asked about values, and I would like to say one more thing about my grandfather John Higson. He was wounded, and he was entitled to veterans compensation. He never would take it, because he said no, he went into the war on his own, and he wouldn't take any compensation for his injury. That's some kind of a value. My brother said that my

grandfather wouldn't talk about the war even though he had volunteered to fight. He said, "War is Hell," or something to that effect.

Riess: What did he go on to do as a business?

Jones: We had the Cambria steel mills in Johnstown. He was in charge of the blast furnaces. He had people working under him. Apparently they kept the furnaces going, and he was in charge.

Riess: This is Johnstown, Pennsylvania.

Jones: Yes. I think the mills later became the Bessemer Company.

I was called Mary Liz by that family, just by that family, nobody else. My name is Mary Elizabeth.

Charles Blair Cover

Jones: Now, you want me to say something about my father at this point? This is one picture of him.

Riess: Oh, he is dashing!

Jones: Yes, he was. He was considered to be a Beau Brummel. [chuckles] My mother said he always looked as though he'd just come out of a band box, which was a way of saying he was neat and well-dressed. I want to show you this picture also, which is much more human. That's my father with my daughter, Barbara.

Riess: What was his full name?

Jones: His name was Charles Blair Cover. Maybe I should go back at this point to the Covers. [looking at family history material]

Riess: An article from the Johnstown, Pennsylvania paper--October 30, 1894. "A Remarkable Family."

Jones: Remarkable in the sense that they'd lived in Johnstown for a long time. This is about Adam Coover, the father of the family.

Riess: You're pronouncing it differently: Coover.

Jones: There were two o's in it originally. Apparently, they still used two o's when this was written in 1894. My father said the family settled in the east, Philadelphia, and they lost an "o" coming over the Allegheny mountains. [laughs]

Riess: I wonder what the origin of that name is?

Jones: It's German. I know somebody named Ccfer, who thought he might be related to me, and he spelled his name originally with a K, and then they changed it to a C.

Riess: So they came across the mountains.

Jones: From Philadelphia.

Riess: Also because of the steel industry, or coal?

Jones: No. My grandfather Cover settled up on what is known as Cover Hill. This article says they are probably the seven oldest living brothers and sisters in the state.

There was transportation across the country, partly by water and partly by land. Grandfather Adam Cover had something to do with that system in Johnstown. I think they changed from the river to trains, or whatever they had. He was connected with that. He was the second son. The first son got the property up on the hill. The second son got a suit of clothes and was off on his own. He also was a carpenter, a cabinet maker. I don't remember him. I'm not sure whether he was alive at all when I was.

Riess: Did any of them go further west, join any of the westward migrations?

Jones: No.

Riess: They did not have the lust for gold?

Jones: No, definitely not. [laughs] My grandmother had the name Blair in her family somewhere, and my father's middle name is Blair--Charles Blair. Her name was Saylor, Mary Elizabeth Saylor, before she was married. I remember her. She was practically blind when I knew her. We used to go to see her, of course. I was named for her, Mary Elizabeth. One Christmas, I wanted a doll, a big doll, and I wanted her with brown hair and brown eyes. Christmas came, and there was no doll under the tree. I was told Santa Claus had visited my grandmother, too. We went across a bridge--it was a swinging bridge across the river to my grandmother's--and there was the doll in a box. The box was closed, and I just sat there and held it but didn't open it. They said, "Why don't you open it?"

I said, "I'm afraid she won't have dark hair." (She did!) [laughs] I saw that doll this Christmas time; I gave it to a dark-haired granddaughter. It's still in existence.

The other grandmother, Grandma Higson, used to make clothes for that doll. She still wears the same lace-trimmed underwear and a

white dotted swiss dress made by Grandma Higson. There was also a red coat, white wool-trimmed, and a silk bonnet.

Riess: You must have taken very good care of it. Were you the only grandchild?

Jones: No. That grandmother (Cover), as I say, was almost blind when I knew her. She sat in a chair in her living room, I can remember, a rocking chair, and she also sat out on the porch. They lived there off of Main Street, and across was a big auditorium where they had shows and things of that sort. She used to listen to the music. She said she felt the music in her feet, and enjoyed that sort of thing, although she was pretty inactive.

Riess: How important was religion for those grandparents?

Jones: My grandmother Higson was a good Episcopalian. But she didn't like the High Episcopalian services, which were more formal. She liked the low services, and apparently that's what they had at her church.

My father was Lutheran. When my mother married him, she became a Lutheran. She gave up whatever Episcopal connection she had and attended the Lutheran church. We went to the Lutheran Sunday school. I joined the Lutheran church. I remember being quite serious about that when I was an adolescent. I went to Sunday school, and I went to church. They had children's day with speeches, songs and plays in which I participated.

You wanted to know about my father's business?

Riess: Yes.

Jones: He was in a number of different businesses. At the time of the flood, which we're coming to later, he and his brother had a livery stable. There were horses and carriages which they rented, and they kept horses. My mother tells about seeing my father before she knew him, even, riding around town with a stallion--that's an unaltered horse--hitched to a carriage, looking like a well-dressed dandy! Well, they lost all that in the flood. And then, after the flood, he went into the grocery business. When we get to the flood, I'll tell you how he got started with that. Then later he went into the coal business; he had some coal mines. That was his last venture.

Riess: To have some coal mines means he had a claim and worked them, or what?

Jones: Well, yes. He had two mines that I know of and I can remember him going up the hill to the mines. I don't know what he did up there--supervised, apparently.

The Flood

Riess: When did he and your mother meet?

Jones: Well, maybe we should go to the flood. Both my mother and father were in the flood. [May 30, 1889] My father lost his house and his business. But his house went off the main flood stream for some reason; my mother's house went down the main stream where all the houses were being swept away. Her father got the whole family up on the roof and several other people in the neighborhood. According to the story, he told them when to jump, when to stay where they were, and when to hang on. They finally were swept down to the stone bridge, which held. But when things crashed into the bridge, they tended to burn. He got them all out from the wreckage and up on to the hillside.

And in this little story, my grandmother said, "Here we are, homeless and penniless." My mother had two cents in her pocket. She had bought a quart of milk for eight cents and given the milkman ten cents; there were two cents change, and that was the extent of their money supply.

They had some relatives named Hamilton who lived on the hill. They found the Hamiltons, or the Hamiltons found them. There was a flood committee appointed by survivors and my father was in charge of supplies.

Then the Red Cross came in, of course, and brought supplies. And my father was in charge of seeing that the right people got the right supplies.

My mother came to get supplies. She got a blanket, handwoven, sent by someone in Michigan. I had it for years. When they opened a museum in Johnstown, I sent it back there. The family was given a Bible. It was a Bible that had a lot of passages marked for comfort. We used that Bible as a family Bible and put in dates of births and deaths. Well, that got lost. You know there have been several floods in Johnstown. That got lost in one of the later floods.

Anyhow, that's how my father and mother met. He liked her looks, and gave her nice little confections and such. Then they got married.

Riess: Did any member of the family live down below the dam again, or did they all move to the hills?

Jones: No, we lived in the valley. There was a flood, I can remember, when I was there. The basements used to get filled with water practically every spring. The river banks were just too narrow, and the city just didn't do enough about it, I guess.

Riess: Disaster, did you feel, was always threatening?

Jones: Well, it's just like sitting here in the Bay Area with the earthquake possibility.

Riess: Not too much feeling of danger.

Jones: No.

My grandfather Cover is mentioned in this book as being one of the older people who was saved. [McLaurin, J.J. The Story of Johnstown. Harrisburg, Pa.: James M. Place, 1890. Also: O'Connor, R. Johnstown: The Day the Dam Broke. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1957.] And then, this is about my mother. This is about getting off the bridge, getting off of the debris: [reads] "The people seemed to be stunned. Many men went to work to save the victims. The first person recognized after probably a dozen women and children had been rescued was Miss Carrie Higson, who walked off as deliberately as though going down the gangplank of a steamboat." [laughter] That explains it all. And that explains why my father went into the grocery business. Apparently, after giving out supplies, he decided it was the kind of thing to do, so he went into the grocery business. I have a picture of him standing in front of his store.

Let's see. Maybe the educational level comes now. I told you we were not a highly educated family. I'm still talking just about my side of the family, not my husband's (Harold Jones). My father always regretted the fact that he hadn't had more education. I would say he, maybe more than my mother, saw to it that when anything came to town--a musician, or a speaker or a play--we all got to go.

Chautauqua

Jones: Then, Chautauqua, New York, up on Lake Erie, had a summer institute for six weeks. There were educational courses, lectures, concerts. We didn't always stay for six weeks. But we went up every summer for many years.

There was the Chautauqua Scientific and Literary Circle, CLSC. In the summer there were lectures, and then, it was like a correspondence course with reading assignments for the winter. That was something like a four-year course, apparently, and my parents took that. They attended graduation festivities.

My brother was quite musical; he took violin lessons, played violin in the orchestra, played baseball [at Chautauqua]. Walter Damsch led the orchestra. We children belonged to clubs--there was the

girl's club and the boy's club, with nature study and swimming and other activities.

Recently, I was talking to my sister about this experience. She said it was a great influence in her life.

Riess: Were there many people from the town who did this?

Jones: No, I don't know anybody else, except my Aunt Kate sometimes went with us.

Riess: Then when you got there you were in boarding houses?

Jones: Yes, we were in boarding houses. We stayed at the St. Elmo. There was a hotel, The Atheneum, which was the best place to stay. But we weren't that well off.

Riess: Do you remember names of Chautauqua speakers or performers?

Jones: I believe I heard Scott Nearing there. I remember President Roosevelt, Teddy Roosevelt came there. They put up arches for him to march under as he came in, and they had five children sitting in each arch--one at the top, two on each side. I was one of the children who sat on an arch and saw Teddy Roosevelt.

Riess: And Chautauqua was lectures, not just entertainment.

Jones: Oh, no, it was supposed to be serious. And religious--we went to church, I remember.

Riess: A particular religion?

Jones: No, I don't remember that there was any special denomination.

Riess: It was just something on Sunday that took care of the religious aspect.

Jones: Yes. I remember also one afternoon when the girl's club was going swimming. I went in my bathing suit, which was a big dress with a skirt. And I didn't have any stockings on. I was twelve years old. They wouldn't let me be on the beach without stockings. I had to go home and get stockings. [laughter] So we were very proper at that place.

Riess: Getting away from your home town, did you meet young girls of your age that opened up your idea of the world?

Jones: Yes, at Chautauqua.

Riess: I was wondering whether these were people who opened your vision of

what life was all about in any way.

Jones: Yes, I would say so. I remember one woman from Columbus, Ohio, who lived in our little St. Elmo. She persuaded my father to send my brother to Ohio State, because he could stay with her until he got into a group of young people. He joined the Delta Upsilon fraternity. So he went to Ohio State, for one year, then he transferred to Columbia. He went to college, and then my sister and I went. Of course, this was my father's idea; he wanted us to go to college, because he never had the opportunity.

Riess: Was there a good library at home?

Jones: Yes, I read. I think a lot of it was pretty poor stuff, but I read and read and read. [laughs]

Riess: Was your father interested in politics?

Jones: Yes, my parents were Republicans. And my father ran for at least one office--treasurer of the county or something of that sort--but he didn't get elected.

Riess: Your mother did the Gilbert and Sullivan--did you feel that she was in any way a frustrated performer?

Jones: I don't think so. But she could have been. Not perhaps as a performer, but in general. I mean, she was a housewife. She had other abilities that might have been developed. But in those days this did not become an issue. Woman's place was in the home.

Riess: Chautauqua was a big trip. Were there any other summer vacation destinations?

Jones: No, not that I remember. We owned a place called Brookacre, which was several miles out from Johnstown. We used to go out there. I used to take my friends. But as a family, that was about it.

I had an aunt--my father's sister, Molly, and her husband--who went to Europe. They used to bring us home presents.

Education for the Cover Children

Riess: Your brother went to Ohio, and then to Columbia. Was the emphasis on his education?

Jones: I think my father wanted us all to go to college. My mother wanted us to go to college, all right, but she was sorry to have us leave home.

I remember when I was married to Harold, and we were doing graduate work, one of my aunts said, "Why doesn't he come home and teach in the high school?" She didn't have as much ambition for us as we had for ourselves.

I don't know whether this comes in now, but my brother was five years older. He was an influence because he was, of course, that much ahead of me in school. He was editor of the school paper, so I wanted to be editor of the school paper, and was. My father thought I could do as well as my brother.

Riess: As far as they were concerned, women had possibilities.

Jones: Yes.

Riess: You weren't being tied to the apron strings?

Jones: No. I think my mother never quite understood why I became professional. [laughs]

Riess: Did you learn to do all the things that you should have learned to do, like cooking and sewing?

Jones: Oh, yes, oh yes. Oh, we did housework, you know, even though we usually had a live-in maid. I remember I could make noodles, very fine little noodles. That was one of my specialties.

Riess: It sounds like the German side of the family, to know how to make a good noodle.

Jones: Yes. My mother used to make an effort to cook German things. There was something called schnitz and knepf, or something like that.

Riess: Oh, yes, I know what that is.

Jones: Do you?

Riess: Yes, it's apple and ham.

Jones: Yes. And every Saturday night we had oyster stew. My father went to a special store where the oysters came in on Saturday. You see, we weren't on a seaport.

Riess: What were the schools like in Johnstown?

Jones: I went to the neighborhood school; I walked to school. I remember my teachers. We used to have spelling bees. We stood up, and if you spelled the word right, and got it better than the next person, you moved up the line. I got so excited and fidgety that my teacher had to call me over and fasten up buttons which had gotten undone.

[laughter] That's what I remember about early school.

Riess: Did you usually win?

Jones: Well, I guess so. I think I stood up pretty long toward the top. I got good report cards. Yes, I did all right in school.

Riess: Did you learn Latin and Greek?

Jones: Latin, in high school. I didn't take Greek--Latin and German. And physics--these were college preparatory.

The question of where I would go to college came up. We went and visited several. We visited Bryn Mawr and Barnard, and Vassar. And here's a very silly thing that doesn't belong in there, but--
[laughter]

Riess: Oh, let's risk it.

Jones: A man named Harrison Fisher, an artist, drew pictures of women. There was a picture at that time of a young girl sitting at a desk; there was a Vassar pennant on the wall, and she had one of these American beauty roses on the desk beside her. And I thought, "Gee, I'd like to go to Vassar." When we looked at Vassar, it was commencement time, and I was shown into a room, and introduced to a girl who had a dozen American beauty roses in a vase. So I knew it was true!

Well, I decided to go to Vassar.

Riess: Were the high school teachers and counselors strongly influential? Or was it just your parents who were motivating you?

Jones: It was my parents and my brother. I can remember my brother being motivated by teachers, and an English teacher in particular. They wanted to make sure my brother got to college. When it came to me, I think it was just more or less assumed that I would go.

Riess: Did you need a scholarship?

Jones: There was never any question of a scholarship. I don't think we knew there were such things. Let me say a few more things about high school. I told you, my brother was editor of the paper, the Spectator. So I wanted to be editor of the Spectator. There was a boy in the class, Ralph Coleman, who wanted to be editor also. Apparently, we both wrote, and it took several months to decide, but finally they said I could be the editor. Ralph became the business manager. For the first several months, we didn't get on too well. But at Christmas time, he showed up at my house with a ten-pound box of chocolates, and said this was because I hadn't run over the budget of the Spectator. From that time on, we were friends!

Riess: It sounds like this was a romance, or was it just a friendship?

Jones: It was considered a romance. When I went back to the high school reunion, fifty years later, someone said, "I thought you were going to marry Ralph." [laughter] I had a couple of boyfriends from time to time. I had one in the fifth grade. There was a Rutherford Sheridan who brought me a rose each morning for a while in the fifth grade. He came and sat on my porch in his high boots, with his dog, to save me in one of those threatening Johnstown floods.

Education

Entering Vassar

Riess: You said you went to Vassar, as if there were no question of your getting in. Was there any difficulty in being admitted?

Jones: No. At that time, Johnstown High School was accredited and I was recommended by my high school. But this is where we come to my problems. My high school preparation was very poor. I began having difficulty immediately, with Latin especially. I was told that the two girls who had gone to Vassar before me from Johnstown had both flunked out. (One was the niece of the high school Latin teacher.) If I flunked out, that would take away the accreditation for Johnstown. So I was under pressure not only to stay for myself, but for the reputation of the Johnstown High School!

Well, I flunked Latin. I had a tutor at Vassar, a Miss Swan. We had a song about her related to tutoring, with the refrain: "Take me back to Swanny's door." I had to tutor in the summer at home. I finally passed Latin. But here I was at a place where they'd say to you, "Where did you prep?" I didn't "prep" at a prep school. I just went from an ordinary high school. I had trouble.

Riess: And there was a significant difference in sophistication between the rest of those "preppie" girls and yourself?

Jones: Yes, I would say so. They had no problems at all about grades. They didn't have to study as hard as I did. I can remember waking up at six o'clock in the morning, to study geometry.

Riess: Were you in a room by yourself, or did you have a roommate?

Jones: No, I had a roommate, a friend--well, she's a friend now; I saw her this Christmas time. She was Lois Warner from New England. We had two joining rooms the first year. We had three rooms for our sopho-

more and junior years, two bedrooms and a living room, and then we had singles next to each other as seniors.

Riess: Did you write home regularly when you were in college? Did you have time to do that?

Jones: To write? Oh, yes, and my parents wrote to me. My father wrote to me at least every week, probably a couple of times a week. Yes.

Riess: Have those letters survived?

Jones: No, I don't think I have any of them.

I remember when I went home my freshman year, I wanted a new evening dress, and I wanted a black evening dress. My mother said, "You're too young for a black evening dress." My father said, "I'll go shopping with her." I got a black evening dress. [laughs]

However, then we had the war. I was in college during the First World War. So there weren't many occasions to wear a black evening dress.

Riess: Once you had gotten through your freshman year, you had really made it over the hump.

Jones: Yes. But I can remember that first year. If you got a slip saying you failed, it was in a little envelope, and it was put in your mailbox. Well, I lived off-campus all freshman year, at McGlynn's, because I hadn't registered early enough to get on campus. And--they called them wardens in those days--the warden used to bring our mail to McGlynn's from the main campus. I can remember our awful tension, thinking maybe we're going to get one of these little slips. If you got three of them, you were out. I got one in Latin. After I made up the deficiency, I wanted to go on with Latin, but my advisor said, "Oh, you'd better not." [laughter]

Riess: Was there an advisor who was assigned to you?

Jones: Well, there was one person assigned to you when you first were an entering freshman. You were given the name of someone who would be your advisor. What I did was to go look this person up. She was a German professor, and she was simply astounded. She said, "You're supposed to wait for me to make the contact." I never was very close to her.

One of my English teachers, Winifred Smith, was a great person. She taught Shakespeare, that was her specialty. She came to our dormitory room one night with the Shakespeare class and read Othello. I had refreshments to offer the class afterwards. But Dr. Smith was so moved by this reading, she had tears in her eyes and she just rushed

off. She was really moved by Shakespeare. By the way, would you like a cup of coffee or tea or something? [brief tape interruption]

She was one of the influences as a faculty member. I saw her in New York after I graduated, and I kind of apologized for not having been back to Vassar. She said, "I don't think you should come back to Vassar. You've left Vassar, and people who come back seem to me to be kind of looking into the past instead of into the future." I went to my forty-fifth, my fiftieth, and my fifty-fifth reunions. I don't think I'll go to any more.

Psychology and Economics Studies

Riess: Was there a prescribed course that was taken in the freshman year?

Jones: Yes. We had to take math, and depending upon what we had had before, I think I had to take geometry and trigonometry. If you had had German, you took French. I took French. I had to go on with Latin for one year, and I had to take chemistry. Then sophomore year I started psychology and economics. I majored in economics. This is as an undergraduate.

Riess: And psychology was just one of the sciences that one took?

Jones: No, I elected it. I had Margaret Floy Washburn, who was the second woman to be president of the American Psychological Association.

But I didn't do well in the laboratory course. I didn't like it, and I didn't work at it, and I got a C.

Riess: What were you doing in the psychology laboratory?

Jones: What they called threshold limits--when you could hear a sound, and when you could taste something, this kind of thing. I didn't like it. It was Titchener. He was at Cornell, and we used his textbook. And then weights, when you could feel a weight, this one different from that one.

Riess: What branch of psychology is that considered?

Jones: Let's see, what did you call it? Structural.

Well, Washburn wouldn't let me into her seminar, because I'd only gotten a C in the laboratory, and that was her favorite course. But she was a very good teacher. Senior year I did take a course that she gave with Tredwell--I guess he was a biologist--so there was a combination of sciences and of points of view. Washburn, for example,

didn't like the idea of child psychology. She didn't teach it; she let someone else teach it. When the Blodgetts donated the building for a nursery school, she objected very much.

Riess: She was the woman who [I have read] said, "Over my dead body?"

Jones: Yes. She's the one.

Riess: I'd like to hear more about Margaret Washburn's attitude about this.

Jones: I believe that she thought that child psychology was inferior to the kind of psychology she wanted to develop, which was a kind of Titchenerian psychology, structural. It was experimental, and she thought that child psychology was introducing something like home economics, which she would also think was an inferior field for bright Vassar women.

Riess: And in fact, no home economics was taught at Vassar, and no domestic sciences, or anything like that.

Jones: There was never any home economics; there isn't now. (Later there was a Department of Child Study, but it was originally called "Euthenics." Perhaps that sounded more scientific!). And of course, there isn't on this campus, either.

Riess: Well, if somebody at that point were majoring in psychology, which you weren't, what more would they have gotten at Vassar?

Jones: They would have done an experiment, and she would have published it with them. She published with some of her best students.

Riess: Was she the only psychology professor?

Jones: No, there was Professor Gould who taught child, and Josephine Gleason. But she [Washburn] was the head psychologist. I met Professor Washburn at a meeting of the American Psychological Association in Princeton when I was studying at Columbia. She was very cordial, knew about my marriage to Harold and my work at Columbia.

Riess: What did you think you would do with the economics?

Jones: My brother was in economics, you see. He had an influence on me. I wasn't sure what I'd do. But at any rate, I had taken all of [Herbert Elmer] Mill's courses, and liked them. And when I applied for a seminar, he let me in. I did what I think is one of the best studies I ever did, a history of the Socialist Party in the United States. I went down to New York, went to the magazine The Masses (I think that was the name of the Socialist paper at that time) and interviewed Socialists, and wrote a good report--and then I threw it away after graduation.

College Summers

Riess: Did you go home to your family summers in your Vassar years?

Jones: The summers? The first summer I went home and had a job in the YWCA. The second summer--Oh, yes, one of those summers I went as a counselor to a camp for underprivileged East Side New York City children.

At that time my brother was engaged, and his future wife and I went together. That was when he was in the service, during the First World War. He was in Europe and she and I went to this summer camp. She arranged it.

A third summer, I went to a settlement house, in Boston, and worked in a lower-class neighborhood with the children. That was arranged through Vassar.

One summer--maybe more than one summer--they had students stay and farm at Vassar. I applied for that, but for some reason they didn't think I looked substantial enough to do a physical job. I wasn't chosen.

Riess: You mean work in a vegetable garden?

Jones: Yes. Actually I had quite good health. In fact, when I entered Vassar, they did a physical exam and asked questions about my ancestry. They seemed to be impressed that all of my grandparents had lived to be into their seventies, at least.

Riess: It's interesting that they would encourage some of you to farm during the summer, since they were down on home economics, and all other related activities.

Jones: Well, the war made it a different thing.

Riess: The Victory Garden idea.

Jones: Yes.

Riess: I see. It wasn't a Vassar tradition to till the land every summer.

Jones: No, no. Just during the war.

Vassar Traditions

Riess: Tell me about your social life during college. You said that most of

the boys were off fighting the war.

Jones: Yes. We didn't have proms the way you ordinarily do until the war was over. At that senior prom, I went with a man who was a friend of my roommate's brother--somebody I hadn't known before, and that's the only time I ever saw him. My first year at Vassar, I went over to West Point. There was a young man from Johnstown whom I knew who was at West Point, and invited me to a dance, or a hop, or whatever they called it. I took a couple of friends. That was all that ever amounted to.

We had daily chapel in the evening, required.

Riess: Was there inspirational talk also with chapel?

Jones: Not especially. But, yes, there was always a talk and singing, and a choir. And we always ended, as I remember, with a song with words from the Bible, "Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you. Not as the world giveth give I unto you. Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid." I never objected to having to go to chapel. Maybe some people did, but it didn't bother me.

I think chapel was at seven. I can remember in winter time wearing galoshes. Actually, some girls wouldn't fasten them up, and you'd hear these buckles clinking as they walked down the chapel aisle.

Riess: Did you study in your rooms?

Jones: I studied in my room a good deal, I studied in the library too. My roommate and I had a living room and we each had a bedroom. We drew numbers for rooms. They were all the same price; it was part of the tuition and board and room. At the end of the freshman year, you drew a card, and according to how lucky you were in the draw, you got your choice, or maybe your second or third choice of accommodations. As I say, I was off-campus freshman year. We drew cards at the end of the freshman year, for the next two years. Then senior year everybody went to Main Hall, and then we drew again for that.

They used to have stepsinging practically every night. We went to Davidson dormitory and sat on the steps and sang. One I like to remember goes:

Oh we never used to bathe
Till we heard the doctor rave
In the lectures that she gave
How to behave.
Now we take our daily bath
Even though we miss our math
How in the world did you know that?
She told us so!

It ends with:

We will keep our heart a prize
For the right man who applies
How in the world,? etc.

We were advised to be heterosexual. This was Dr. Thelberg. She also warned against finger-bowls. They might carry germs--venereal?

Riess: And the daisy chain, were you in the daisy chain?

Jones: Oh, yes, the daisy chain. That's a good question! I couldn't remember just how the daisy chain was chosen. I called Jane Brooks last night--do you know her? She went to Vassar. I said, "How was the daisy chain chosen?" She said, "For looks." I said, "Well, that's what I thought." But as I remembered, the girls that were on--I didn't think they were very beautiful. The reason I wanted to know was: when my father came to my commencement--my father and mother came to my commencement--there was a daisy chain, and my father said, "Why aren't you on the daisy chain?" He thought I was an important person! He thought that I should have been on the daisy chain! [laughs] And I was trying to remember why I wasn't on the daisy chain.

Riess: Did you look like your mother when you were young?

Jones: I think I looked more like my mother. You see, my father had this kind of patrician nose. And my brother and sister both have that, and I don't. But I have curly hair, at least wavy, which my father had. I've got a combination of things.

Socialism, Pacifism, and the War

Riess: You said that you did your paper on socialism. Was that something that really interested you personally? The Socialist view?

Jones: Yes. I was president of the Socialist Club at Vassar.

Riess: How did you get into that?

Jones: I don't know. Well, you see, I was not a prep girl, and I think maybe I just thought I'd better be different. I wasn't a Socialist; I wasn't a member of the party. But we had a Socialist Club, and I was one of the officers. Some of my friends, of course, were in it.

Riess: Did it include a group that you would think of now as rebels?

Jones: There were several Jewish girls in it. I had quite a few Jewish friends. Maybe that was also part of my feeling that I didn't belong to the prep group. One Jewish friend told me that there was a quota. I mentioned this at a recent meeting of the East Bay Vassar Alumnae Club. I was told by a member of the class of 1924, Elizabeth Faragoh, that she had asked Josephine Gleason, admissions officer at Vassar, about this. Jo Gleason told her that there had never been a quota for selection for any group at Vassar.

Riess: Was it the not very religious German Jewish intellectual type?

Jones: Yes. Some of these girls belonged to the Ethical Culture, if you know what that is, in New York City.

In my day, when you entered as a freshman a list was posted with your name and religious affiliation. An upper classman might consult the list and invite you to go to church with her in Poughkeepsie. One of my Jewish friends put up "Ethical Culture," and somebody had crossed it off and put "Jewish."

A senior called and asked me to go to church in Poughkeepsie (the Lutheran). Maybe I went once or twice. But I lost my religious interest, in fact, as a result of my first course in philosophy.

Riess: Did you identify, then, with these Jewish girls in some ways?

Jones: Well, I was friendly with several of them. I went to visit two of them in New York City for occasional weekends. But, of course, I also had other friends, my roommate for four years, and a friend of ours who always had a room near us, Mary Herring.

Riess: Were there--I'm certain I know the answer to this--were there any Black girls?

Jones: No. There were two Chinese; no Blacks.

Riess: Chinese from China?

Jones: Yes.

Riess: Did any of these Chinese girls go on to become well-known?

Jones: They went back to China, and I don't know what happened to them then.

Riess: They didn't marry Chiang Kai Chek, or anything like that?

Jones: No, that was a Wellesley graduate. Madame Chiang Kai Chek was Wellesley.

Riess: Was suffrage an issue that was part of your--

Jones: Yes! I worked on that. One of my friends, Miriam Beard, daughter of the historian Beard, went to jail for picketing, I believe in Washington, D.C. Suffrage was granted in 1920, which was the year after I was out of college. I worked on it at college. I remember we went to see either Pratt or Platt in Poughkeepsie, who was a member of the Congress, and we finally persuaded him to vote for it. Inez Mulholand Bausevain, the suffragist, was a contemporary Vassar student.

Also, I was a pacifist. I don't know whether that's in any of the papers I've shown you.

Riess: No.

Jones: Yes, my brother was a pacifist. As a senior at Columbia he organized Students Against War. He graduated in 1915, was in the foreign service in Vienna as a special attache under William Jennings Bryan. Because of the war he was recalled in 1917.

When we went into the war I was at Vassar. They had a mass meeting in the chapel the night war was declared. It was celebrating and approving our entrance into the war. A student got up and moved that we say that the Vassar students were all in favor of this. That passed. Then somebody got up and said, "Let's make it unanimous," and I got up and said, "No." Then some of my friends, and others, got up and said, "No," also. You know, I'm kind of interested. I thought maybe when I went back after forty-five or fifty years, somebody would still remember that, but they didn't. They hadn't held it against me.

Riess: Had it been something that you had been thinking about before that night, or did it just gel that night?

Jones: Oh, yes, I'd been thinking about it. I'm sure it was my brother's influence. There was a pacifist meeting in New York, and I was invited to go to represent Vassar. I asked for permission to go and was told no, my grades weren't good enough. I think that was just an excuse. But the New York Times came out with my name as representing Vassar. So I was called up before the Vassar student council. They were all ready to expel me, but I said I hadn't gone. So-- [laughs]

Riess: You might very well have been expelled?

Jones: Yes, or suspended or something. I haven't been that fired up about anything since. Oh, maybe being married by Norman Thomas was also a little far out. [chuckles]

Riess: When your brother declared that he was a pacifist, did that bother your family?

Jones: He went to Johnstown to register. My father went with him when he registered. By this time he was married and his wife was pregnant so he

was excused. In 1945, after the Second World War he was sent to Biarritz to organize the Army University Center for soldiers who were waiting to come home. At that time he was a professor of economics at the University of Pittsburg.

Riess: So his conscientious objection or pacifist status was not on a religious basis, I take it.

Jones: No, I think he was just anti-war. Maybe my grandfather's experience had just--

Riess: In the same way, you were anti-war.

Jones: Yes.

Riess: Did it re-direct your life?

Jones: You mean my interest in the Socialist Club?

Riess: Or in the pacifism.

Jones: No, but I am still anti-war.

Riess: Did you campaign for Debs when he ran for president in 1920?

Jones: No, I was a Democrat. I believe I heard Debs lecture at Chautauqua.

Deciding to go on in Psychology

Riess: Could we continue to follow your interest in psychology?

Jones: Margaret Washburn was a very good teacher, and I was really interested in psychology. But I wasn't sure when I left Vassar and went to Columbia whether I would go into economics or psychology.

Riess: How did you know, though, that Columbia was the graduate school to go to? Just because your brother was there?

Jones: Yes. Actually, I thought of going to Johns Hopkins, to work with John Watson.

Riess: How did you meet John Watson, then?

Jones: Through Rosalie Raynor, who was a classmate of mine. She came back from Easter vacation senior year to say that she had gone down to the psychology department at Johns Hopkins--she lived in Baltimore--and had been accepted as Watson's assistant. I was thinking then that

maybe I'd like to go to Johns Hopkins, because I'd heard of Watson. I didn't hear much about him at Vassar, but I knew there was such a person.

Riess: Was she accepted as his assistant because she was a particularly brilliant student, or because he already found her a very attractive woman?

Jones: I don't know. [laughter] No question she was a bright Vassar student and an attractive woman.

I saw her in New York that first year after Vassar, and she was saying she was in love with John Watson. I was so innocent, I just couldn't believe it, you know.

When I went to Columbia, I decided on the psychology department. I had no trouble. I don't remember even how I got in, but there was no problem with achievement as there had been at Vassar.

Riess: Watson was developing a whole psychology of his own?

Jones: Yes. And his new textbook, Psychology from the Standpoint of a Behaviorist [Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1919], had just come out. I can well remember the day where Harold came home with that prize. To us even the chapter headings were new and exciting. "Implicit Language Habits," "The Organism at Work," "Personality." Watson's ideas even permeated our love letters. In a brief separation, Harold wrote me: "I am speeding away from all that world which is yours and mine. Some of it I take with me in memory or, as Watson would have it, 'retained in the neuromuscular system in the form of residual molecular change.'" Isn't that impressive? After the Titchenerian structural psychology, the behaviorist approach had appeal.

Oh, and I remember Edward Tolman said that he was terribly bored with this Titchenerian approach, and that Watson's behaviorism appealed to him. Of course, he became his own kind of behaviorist--Tolman.

When I got to Columbia I went and saw Woodworth. He was just a lovely person. Then I signed up for courses. Do you want this now, about Columbia?

Siblings

John Higson Cover

Riess: Since we don't have very much tape left, what we could do is go back

and pick up your brother and sister, as you suggested earlier. [looking at notes] You were a middle child. Did you ever think about your middle child status?

Jones: I think in my case it was good. My brother is five years older and my sister is four year younger. I don't know how they managed that. My sister was very devoted to my brother. She called him "mine John." Her John. Anytime I had any associations with him, she would remind me that he was hers. But I don't think he felt that way about it. He used to take me to dances to teach me. He let me play tennis with him and a girl at Chautauqua. I think we've always been quite close. When I went to Columbia, he was there.

Let me tell you first of my brother, since he was older. This is he. [shows photo] I talked about Chautauqua. He took music lessons, played in the orchestra and played on the baseball team at Chautauqua. He wrote music. He wrote the high school song, which I have--"Dear Old Johnstown High School." They still use it. And they invited him back, I guess it was about 1970, to give him a key to the city and an award. He's living in Yellow Springs, Ohio. He taught at the University of Maryland; they lived in Washington, D. C. then. He was with the government for some time with assignments as economic advisor to a number of foreign countries: India, Barbados, Syria. When they retired, they moved to Yellow Springs, Ohio. His wife is an artist. She did that. [looking at painting] She has had a number of exhibits of her sculpture and paintings in Washington, D.C. Recently she had an exhibit in Yellow Springs and was written up in the local papers. She had friends in Yellow Springs, and she persuaded John to move there.

Anyhow, my brother wrote the high school song. The Merchant of Venice has something in it about "Tell me where is fancy bred, or in the heart, or in the head," which was supposed to be a song, and he wrote music for that. Somebody from a Shakespeare company came to see the performance in Johnstown (it was when my brother was in high school), and used the music for a long time afterward, his music.

Then he wrote something called "Serenade to a Jeep" when he was in Biarritz teaching soldiers who were waiting to be sent home. The Jeep was fairly new. That's the sort of thing he did.

Now he is still writing little things for the local paper in Yellow Springs. I should tell you that he wrote a poem--I wonder if I've got that here somewhere--about my sister--here it is--when she was born. I don't know whether you want me to read it to you.

Riess: This is a poem written by a nine-year-old.

Jones: Yes. I like this line: "She is a very good one, although the bed she pees." [laughter] Spelled it p-e-e-s. I guess that's all right.

I have a little sister
 Her name, I think's Louise
 she is a very good one
 Although the bed she pees
 She likes for us to hold her
 And not to put her down
 But, oh my! When she spits
 It flies all over the town.

There are several more verses indicating that she tries to talk, but "I wish that she could walk."

He's always been a great conservationist. He also got some kind of an award from the National Parks Association because he was an officer for that for years.

Riess: Was he a radical thinker in economics?

Jones: Well, I don't think so. Actually, at the University of Maryland, he was head of some kind of business bureau, business economics, which is kind of surprising, because he's not the establishment.

Riess: But he was not a Socialist.

Jones: No. This time he voted for Commoner.

Anna Louise Cover Hill

Jones: I'll go on to my sister, who was four years younger. Her name was Anna Louise. She was named for her grandmother and her aunt--the sisters--and she preferred Louise, which was the aunt's name, the name she's taken.

Riess: Did your parents plan these age gaps?

Jones: I don't know. We never talked about things like that.

She got an A.B., I think in botany, at the University of Wisconsin. I can't remember why she went there. Probably some Chautauqua influence, somebody she met who suggested that. She went on to get an M.A. at Columbia. As a child, she was a little unconventional. I remember one time when we were stood up to have our pictures taken, she put a teddy bear in front of her face so she wouldn't show.

I remember that teddy bear. One Christmas, she asked for a bear, a book, a bed, and a ball--four things. And I wanted a teddy bear also. I must have been about twelve. My parents decided I was too

old for a bear, and they got me a very nice little Morris chair instead, but they got Louise the bear. Sometimes Louise and I slept in the same bed, and I was jealous of that bear. One night I grabbed it from her, and she grabbed it back, and I pulled its head off. [laughter] It was put back together again, but that was how I showed my resentment.

She was very good at nature and mechanical things. I remember she knew how to take care of our car, the mechanics of the car. And she learned to drive before I did. She was interested in that kind of thing. For a while she worked at Columbia in the greenhouse propagating plants, and then somehow she got off to Seattle doing the same sort of thing, I guess at the university. Then she got T.B. out there, and she was ill for several years. At that time, my brother was in Denver, so they took her to Denver and she was at the T.B. sanitarium.

So she married rather late, and has no children. She married a man who lived down in the San Joaquin Valley and had a dairy farm. She wrote a column three times a week for the Merced Sun-Star called "The Diary of a Dairy Wife." She did that for seventeen years. They were good columns; I think they should be put together into a book.

Her columns talk about how they name their thoroughbred cattle, about The Spring Beckoning of Birds: "Mr. Titmouse has a hankering for our sunflower seeds we grow just for him...The bluebirds come back to look over their summer nesting home. They use it each summer--squatter's rights...A couple of hummers teased the quince for a bit of nectar."

Here is part of a column on lambing:

Maybe we had better get this straight as to why we have our lambs come in the foggy, cold, should be rainy, winter.

It is not because we are old meanies. We are farmers trying to pay our taxes with the able assistance of the livestock we enjoy.

Sure, I know Canada and New England and Pennsylvania have their lambs come in the nice, cheerful, sunny spring. Although in Ohio I have seen the little guys pogo sticking through the snow following their mothers who

paw the white stuff for nip
of the grass beneath.

It is all a matter of planned parenthood. Like the early bird the early lamb hopes to catch the higher early market. It is as simple as that --economics.

She is a devoted naturalist, bird watcher, knows her wild flowers. She also had a radio program. One program was on bells. Several people sent her interesting bells.

She mentioned that Chautauqua was a great influence in her life. Here's something she [Louise] wrote to me recently. "Harold always expected so much of you, and you always came through. I think that is why it is hard for you to accept little daily things as normal. Your challenge has to be big." [laughter]

Oh, by the way, she does these little greeting cards, decorated with real weeds and flowers, and she said to "give some to your interviewer." Aren't those nice?

Riess: When you wrote to her to ask about the interview, what questions did you ask her?

Jones: I call her every Sunday morning at 8:30 on the phone. I just told her on the phone that I was going to be interviewed, and that if she remembered anything from our childhood or early life that she thought should be mentioned, to let me know. One of the things I said was I heard this business about Father meeting Mother when he was giving out supplies after the flood, and she said, "I heard that story too." So we heard that same story.

She seems to have a feeling that now that Harold's gone, people can look at me. The idea that I wasn't as important as Harold; but now that he isn't here anymore, I can be a little more visible.

Riess: Is she a widow also?

Jones: No, her husband's still living. They live up near Yosemite. She still writes a note occasionally for the Merced Sun-Star and the Mariposa Gazette. She and her husband, Bob Hill, were both influential in getting the library and history center started at Mariposa. Her husband was president of the history society at that time. Here are her columns. Oh, we might as well see a picture of her with some of her handiwork. She did that kind of glass work. She made these Pennsylvania Dutch symbols, to hang on their barn. Somebody took a picture of that for the Merced Sun-Star. So that's the kind of person she is.

Riess: How did your parents die?

Jones: My father died in a hospital--some kind of a prostate condition. My brother was there; I wasn't. He lived to be in his seventies. My mother lived in Santa Barbara, but she was visiting my sister who lived in Solvang. She apparently had a stroke, she fell and my sister found her. This was around New Years time. Anyhow, they called me up, and I had flu, but I went down. I took the train down from Berkeley. Her doctor had said, "There is no need for you to come. She won't know you." I went into the room where she was. She opened her eyes and said, "Oh, Mary, how long can you stay?" Isn't that wonderful? I said, "As long as you need me." And that was the last she ever spoke.

2. HAROLD JONES

[Interview 2: January 30, 1981]

Family and Education

Genealogy

Riess: Last week, you said you didn't know that much about Harold's childhood. But you've done some work since then.

Jones: Yes. It's been a little difficult, you know, because in some ways it was a pleasure to go back over some of this material, and in other ways it was sad because it's over. But I thought you might want to know about his background.

He was born in New Brunswick, New Jersey. He was always sorry that he wasn't born in New England, because he is a New Englander. His father, Elisha Adams Jones, was in charge of the Rutgers College Agricultural Station, and so Harold was born in New Jersey. His father graduated from Massachusetts Agricultural College.

Then they went to Amherst, to Massachusetts Agricultural College where Adams Jones was in charge of the college experimental farm. So most of Harold's life he lived in Amherst.

Harold has always been interested in his ancestry. I was talking to my daughter the other day. She has all of his collected data, his genealogical charts. I told her I was going to be talking about Harold. She's coming up toward the end of February, and she wanted to know if I wanted her to bring the data. She said, "I think the important thing was not who his ancestors were, but the fact that he was interested in them." And I think that's true too.

So I have some little things to show you to represent what he collected and kept. Here's something. Somebody by the name of Azubah Ellis. Apparently this is from his casket. Ellis was Harold's middle name. So it's some relative of his.

Riess: "Died March 23, 1858, aged 81 years." Had the family been in this country long?

Jones: Yes. They came in 1630. At least that's one of them. This is a rubbing, you know, from his grandfather's tombstone, and his grandmother's tombstone. It's not important, but it shows that he was interested in that sort of thing. I've often wondered whether--his mother's name was Brown, and his father's name was Jones. It seems to me in order to have any individuality, you'd have to know something about people with names other than Brown and Jones. [laughter]

He saved things like this. This is an old letter from somebody. I can't even read it. Then he framed letters that he picked up when he was looking up his ancestors--see, these hanging on the wall. I like this one. It says, "As the men of Massachusetts troops are chiefly gone off without liberty, Captain So-and-so and so-and-so have leave to go to New England." [laughter]

Riess: And that's 1763. "Given under my hand at Crown Point, New York, the seventeenth." So these aren't necessarily family things, or are they?


Jones: Yes, they were in the family. Then he went to the trouble of collecting and photographing names from old letters and documents. Here's one, 1670, 1657, these are ancestors. He got them maybe from libraries where they have genealogies. He really spent some time on it.

Riess: He did this throughout his life?

Jones: Yes. And I'm sure, if he'd lived, he would have put it all together.

Riess: Did he involve your daughters in it? Did he tell the story of his family?

Jones: Yes. And especially the older girl has been interested. There are four very thick notebooks, eight by twelve sheets full of information, not just names. For example, here is part of an excerpt about Thomas Tracy, 1610-1685.

"He came to America in the interest of his friends Lord Say and Lord Brooks and was granted land in Salem, 1638. He was variously described as a ship's carpenter and as 'interested in ship building.' In 1645 he went (with others) to the relief of Uncas Sachem of the Mohegans, when the Mohegans were besieged by Naragansetts. Uncas gave him 200 acres of land in 1645.  (Uncas mark)."

My granddaughter Jane was reading through some of this material and told me another story about Indians.

An ancestor was going home from the village in Massachusetts at

night and sensed the presence of hidden Indians. Should he return to the village for help or go home to protect his family? He decided to go home. At home he climbed up on a hill and started calling as if to collect a band of soldiers. There weren't any militia but the trick scared the Indians away.

Here's an old book that he got somewhere. In fact, it's a copy of old newspapers. Seventeen seventy-six. This is 1775, some are from '76.

Riess: They really are treasures.

Jones: They should be in a museum.

I have dozens of leather books like that, some put away.

This is grandfather Perez Rio Brown [looking at photographs], the third one over there. I have a letter from Harold's sister Florence saying that after the grandfather's wife died, he used to take her [Florence] to the DAR reunions.

This is his father, who was one of the editors of the college magazine at Massachusetts Aggie. That's his father's picture in the Massachusetts Agricultural Journal.

I'm just amazed: I've got loads of letters that his family saved. Then his father came out to live with us after his mother died, and he brought all this material with him. So the way some people keep diaries, I've got letters and letters, going back to before Harold went to college, then all through college.

Riess: When he met you, was he interested in what your background was?

Jones: A little. He had one friend at Amherst, the wife of a professor, and he wrote her about my background when he was telling her that we were going to get married, what he knew about it. He said something about my father being a coal merchant, which was true. I guess he thought that sounded impressive. [chuckles]

Riess: Do you know what his mother's education was?

Jones: I have some old letters and report cards. She went to a private school in Philadelphia, apparently, for some time. Then she moved to Amherst, too, I think, and went to school up there. She didn't go to college. His father went to college, but his mother didn't.

His father also went to what was called a prep school, Choate, or one of those in the East. Probably not because of status, but because it was near and they believed in education.

Riess: His sister was older?

Jones: Eight years older. Each of them was like an only child in a way, because they were so far apart.

Riess: You and Harold are both second children. Do you subscribe to any theories about sibling order?

Jones: I hadn't even thought about it. [laughs] I think it makes a difference whether the first child is a boy or a girl. I think there is a lot in birth order which may affect a child. But I also think it makes a difference whether a boy or a girl was wanted.

Riess: It sounds like Harold's family would have been ambitious for him.

Jones: Yes.

Riess: There was enough money so he could be educated in any way that he wanted?

Jones: Yes. They weren't rich, but they certainly were willing to spend their money in that way.

Interest in Nature

Riess: What was he interested in when he was at Massachusetts Agricultural and when he was at Amherst? His major was biology.

Jones: From the time he was a child, he was interested in nature. These notebooks he kept when he was still in high school, notes about the birds and the bees and the flowers. He wrote a column for the local New Canaan, Connecticut paper, describing what birds had arrived in February, March, and so forth. Here are these books, just full: "jonquils and other seed-eaters." Just in his own handwriting, you know! I saved out this one letter, to his parents after we moved out here. This is written in February of '28. [reads] "Wildflowers are coming out now, about a dozen species in evidence. In many of the fields wild mustard has reached a height of two feet, and provides a brilliant blanket of yellow." Then he goes on about them. This one is kind of interesting: [reads] "In the back yard of the Institute, some of the more characteristic spring flowers are in evidence"--and then some more of that. "Song sparrows and robins sing a great deal. And we are often visited after the children have gone home"--this was in the nursery school--"by flocks of quail. The California quail are less handsome and tuneful than the Connecticut variety; but on the other hand they seem much more sociable."

Riess: That interest in nature and observation seems like a very New England tradition, like the transcendentalists.

Jones: His family was not religious. The parents weren't associated with any religious groups.

Riess: What do you think nature meant for him?

Jones: I think it took the place of what religion does for many people. But of course it was less sociable; he did it all by himself.

Another thing, he was a delicate child--I think he had diptheria when he was fairly young--and he didn't go to school. I think he was tutored at home until high school.

Riess: By his mother, or did they have a tutor?

Jones: I think a teacher who came in. I think they were somewhat isolated from the school, and he had to go on the train when he did go, down to Stamford from New Canaan, Connecticut.

Riess: New Canaan, Stamford, why were they in Connecticut?

Jones: After his father's job with the agricultural experiment farm, he left and went to manage the Lapham Estate in New Canaan, Connecticut.

When somebody asked Harold when he was going to go to school, he said, "Well, I'm going to wait until I go to college." Actually, he went to high school, and he was editor of his school paper.

Friendships, Amherst

Jones: You asked me about the influences [on me] of Vassar, the faculty and so forth, and I didn't have much to say, if you remember. He has all sorts of letters from faculty and to faculty and to student friends to whom he wrote. Robert Frost was one of his professors at Amherst. He used to go walking with Robert Frost. He wrote to his parents: "I was out for a walk this afternoon with Robert Frost." Then there was David Praul, a professor, and another one named Stark Young. I think Stark Young was fairly well known; he was an English professor. He was much more influenced by his friends and his faculty than I; at least there's more evidence about it than I ever could produce for myself.

He was a serious student, and a good student. Amherst was much smaller than Vassar; there just weren't as many students. So perhaps for that reason, he had much more association with his professors.

There was another association. I mentioned the wife of one of the professors, Churchill. Churchill was a professor, and then he was elected to Congress. I think Harold had a course with him, but he didn't know Mr. Churchill very well. He apparently knew Mrs. Churchill quite well. She invited Harold to her home and showed him her garden. He knew so much about the garden and the names of the plants and the ferns and so forth that it became quite an interesting relationship. She used to take him on local nature trips in her car.

She had a little girl named Rosalind. He cultivated little Rosalind. I have letters that he wrote to Rosalind and copies of stories that he told her, and that sort of thing.

He stayed at Amherst one year after he graduated as an assistant to a biology professor. So that would be another reason for knowing the faculty better than most students.

Riess: Was Frost well-known at that time?

Jones: Oh, he was a well-known poet when he went to Amherst. I'd say his reputation had been made by that time.

There was one poem he [Frost] wrote for his daughter. His daughter's name was Lesley. And our daughter's name is Lesley, spelled the same way. Harold's mother was called Lessie (Estelle). Maybe partly because of that, we thought of some name for Lesley that would sound like Lessie. So we named her Lesley, and I'm sure it had to do with Robert Frost's daughter. Harold knew his daughter Lesley. I may have met her. And there's this little poem by Frost, "The Bluebird."

"The bluebird tells the crow,
'I just came to tell you to tell Lesley, will you,
that her little bluebird wanted me to bring word
that the north wind last night that
made the stars bright and
made ice on the trough, almost
made him cough his tail feathers off.'"

Riess: What about his sister? What did she do?

Jones: She got married fairly young. She lived in Amherst. Her husband was in the Massachusetts Agricultural College experiment station, and also taught at Aggie. They lived there most of their lives. After he retired, they moved to Tucson.

Riess: Do you think that the family's hopes were centered in Harold?

Jones: Yes. I think the sister felt somewhat that he was favored.

Riess: Did he act out his life in a way that satisfied his parents? Was there consciousness on his part of this?

Jones: Yes, I think so. And I think from the kinds of letters he wrote, telling about his successes and promotions and so forth. He knew they would be interested in that.

Mary's Influence, and the Beginnings of the Child Welfare Institutes

Jones: Actually, as I read over the letters--I've just been reading them for the first time to get ready for this interview--I felt touched by the number of references to me, and what I was doing. He wrote that there were certain things I could do better than he did, or he was going to have me do this or do that, because I could do it better than he could. It's something that's very nice to be able to look back on and realize.

You see, I had the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Fellowship in Child Development for two years. It was a matter of branching out from psychology to take in nutrition, neurology, early childhood education. In other words, child development was interdisciplinary. I think Harold was influenced by what I was doing. Larry Frank, who was the Rockefeller representative, was the person who got California interested in Harold and Harold interested in U.C. He recommended Harold for director of the Institute. I remember that Edna Bailey, who was in the Education Department here and whom we had first met as a Rockefeller Fellow in New York (Columbia) objected to the statement in the Memorial that I had influenced Harold's choice of a field. "He did it on his own," she said. [Sanford, R.N., Eichorn, D.H. and Honzik, M.P. Harold E. Jones, 1894-1960. Child Development, 1960, 31, 593-608.]

Of course, Woodworth was also very interested in the developmental field. He was in charge of the child development section of the National Research Council, and was perhaps more influential with Harold than Frank, because he was more of an academic figure and a father figure for Harold. I have a very nice letter that Harold wrote to Woodworth telling him what he'd meant to him. He also has a chapter (with Eichorn) in the book Current Psychological Issues: Essays in Honor of Robert S. Woodworth [Seward, G.S. and Seward, J.P. (Eds.), New York: Henry Holt and Co., Inc., 1958].

Riess: Child development was just being born.

Jones: These institutes were just being set up. Ours [Berkeley] was the last. There was one in Iowa started before the Rockefeller grants, but they contributed after it got started. There was a center at

Columbia, where I was, one in Minnesota, one in Toronto. There is a history of this movement by Lomax. [Lomax, E. The Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, Some of its Contributions to Early Research in Child Development. Science and Patterns of Child Care. Freeman, 1978.]

Riess: The one in Iowa, what got that rolling? Do you know?

Jones: I don't know, except this story: some Iowans said that the state was spending a lot of money studying about hogs, and they thought it was time they began studying about children. [laughter] I think Bird Baldwin was the first director of the Iowa Child Welfare Research Station, at the University of Iowa, in Iowa City, in 1917.

Riess: Do you recall anything of a piece of legislation, the Sheppard-Towner Act, enacted in 1921, for the promotion of welfare and health in maternity and infancy? It meant a \$1 million appropriation to states.

Jones: I don't know specifically. I do know that originally parent education was a large part of the expenditure, and nursery schools were established.

Columbia, Meeting Mary, and Marriage

Riess: Let's return to Harold's history. We were talking about his years at Amherst, before we got off into the beginnings of the child welfare institutes.

Jones: He was interested in psychology, but I don't know what they had in the way of psychology at Amherst. I know that he was offered an assistantship at Johns Hopkins, beginning in fall of 1919, by Knight Dunlap, who was a psychologist at Johns Hopkins. Harold considered that.

Then he apparently was offered an assistantship at Columbia under Woodworth, and decided to go to Columbia.

We were both at Columbia in the fall of 1919 for the first time. We both happened to take a course at the New School for Social Research, downtown, with Harvey Robinson, who was an historian. I went with a former Vassar classmate, Ruth Mann who lived in New York City. At the first meeting of the course, Harold was sitting there talking to an Oriental. He seemed to be very compatible with this stranger of another race. I couldn't have gone in and sat down and felt as much at home as he seemed to. I said to Ruth, "There's the most interesting man I've seen since I've been in New York."

He came up afterwards and said, "Haven't I seen you at Columbia

on the campus?" I said, "Yes." He wanted to take me home, but I said, "I'm with my friend," and I went off with Ruth!

At the next meeting, Ruth said, "Your friend Jones"--she had found out his name; I didn't even know his name. But then that time he took me home, and that was that.

Riess: That's lovely! What was the New School's connection with Columbia?

Jones: It doesn't have any connection with Columbia. It was the New School, it had just been established, and it's still there. Watson taught there at one time when he was in New York. I think Robinson probably also had taught at Columbia.

Riess: Why the name, "New School?"

Jones: I think they just wanted to be less rigid in the sense of academic requirements and to present broadly meaningful material. It attracted people who wanted something a little more flexible and selective, maybe, than academic university courses. I don't know whether you got degrees there or not. Cornelia Parker, Carleton Parker's widow was in the class. Carleton Parker had been an economics professor at U.C. He died young. Cornelia wrote a book about their relationship: The American Idol. There are two streets in Berkeley named for him, I presume Carleton and Parker.

Riess: Isn't it surprising that in the midst of your study in psychology that you were at the New School taking history?

Jones: Yes, but I was in New York City for the first time, and there were lots of distractions and attractions. Part of the reason we were in New York was to go to concerts, theaters, museums and we discovered the New School.

Riess: Were you living alone then?

Jones: No, I was living with Lois Warner, who had been my Vassar roommate. She was a musician. When Harold and I decided to get married, she decided that she'd move down nearer her headquarters, the Mannes Music School, and so we took the apartment.

Lois married her music teacher, Guy Maier. They became a well known two piano team. Now she has turned closer to my field. She is a volunteer counselor at the Senior Health and Peer Counseling Center in Santa Monica.

Riess: Did you ever think to yourself, "This is going to be the end of my career? Marriage?"

Jones: No, and I think Harold assumed that I wanted to go on. For example,

we took our eight-hour written exam for the Ph.D. There were six of us taking it: Harold and I, and four other people. I was pregnant, and Woodworth said, "Isn't it going to be kind of hard for you to sit here for eight hours, concentrating? Wouldn't it be easier if you had two four-hour sessions?"

I said, "Yes, it would." So he made everybody come to four-hour sessions on two days instead of one eight-hour. So I guess people thought I was going to continue.

Of course, I didn't get my degree until '26. Harold got his in '23. I had two children in the meantime.

Riess: Did your motivation flag at all through any of this?

Jones: No. I always thought I'd be doing something. Actually, I taught school one year. This was before any children were born. I quit at the end of the school year because I was pregnant. I taught an ungraded class in a public school when they were just beginning to try ungraded classes. They took twelve youngsters who didn't adjust in regular classrooms and gave them all to me. I quit that because I was pregnant.

Then I did mental tests for the Psychological Corporation, a New York organization, which still exists. We tested children who were going into the first grade. We did a short Terman, and that test went in the files. That was their I.Q. at that time, and in fact supposedly for the rest of their school years. (That's something that we've learned at our Institute, that I.Q.'s are not permanent.) I remember I quit that job because Lesley was born on June 8th, 1925. She came early. I was supposed to work until June 15. Dr. Mitchell, who was my employer at the Psychological Corporation, was a little annoyed at me for having the baby before the last week of school!

Riess: Would Harold have been very disappointed, do you think, if you had just given it all up and stayed home?

Jones: I don't think so. But I think he was very pleased that I was going ahead.

Berkeley

The Lighter Side of Harold

Jones: We haven't talked at all about Harold's lighter side. He wrote poetry, jingles, and he did original Christmas cards, he told stories and wrote letters to the children.

Jones: I don't have many of them. Here's one To Our Professor, and I don't know who that was, but I think it was somebody at Amherst. There are two of those. Then he wrote this one to Professor Stratton:

I sing not of arms and the man, but of disarmament,
When battleships will not be so darned prominent,
When fascistic factions, and sadistic actions,
Will cease,
And nations turn from war to peace.

In that day both Slav and Latin
Will bespeak the name of Stratton
As one who used his talents
To knock the jingoes out of balance.

Amid his colleagues in Geneva
He needs no apologist;
So let us turn from Europe's fever
To honor a psychologist.

Rich in faith that could not fail
We find him a young man at Yale,
Exploring concepts, percepts, receipts,
Obeying Scriptural precepts.

Gay were those pre-doctoral days,
Merry those days at New Haven,
Little he knew, when an Eli blue,
What the future for him was savin'.

Famed e'en then for insight,
And also for upside down sight,
Quite at the start of his career,
He was celebrated as a seer.

He could escape from any prism,
 Reversals were a spur to him,
 And students of the organism,
 Were happy to defer to him.

And as we scan, in later days,
 The outcome of these cerebrations,
 We note with pride and high appraise
 His list of publications!

The psychology of Demos,
 And Romulus and Remus,
 Wolf-children of the Ganges,
 Who walk on their phalanges.
 The sayings of Theophrastus,
 Whose wisdom far outclassed us.

The curious ways of cattle,
 When they smell the blood of battle.
 The emotions of the Philippine
 When his hand is in the guillotine.
 And college girls' vivacity,
 As related to pugnacity.

Remember too that study of illusory undulations;
 (It has, however, no relations
 To Oriental observations.)

To one whose motto e'er has been Lux et Veritas
 Tonight, we love and honor you, Professor Emeritus.
 And if you'll still remain our guide,
 Through many kinds of isms,
 We'll keep ourselves topside,
 As with your prisms.

Nevitt Sanford wrote a poem for Christmas 1951, and he said, "With apologies to Frank Sullivan"--he [Sullivan] used to write for the New Yorker-- "and to Harold Jones." Harold was famous for his humorous doggerel.

He used to do a lot with radio. One year, I remember, he had a radio up the chimney, which spoke like a Santa Claus. Once we had a party here, to announce a friend's engagement. We had arranged so that the announcement was made over the radio, presumably by a news commentator. He used to love to do tricks.

Riess: It sounds as if he had a very great sense of celebrating occasions.

Jones: Yes. In fact, after he died, Jane, my little granddaughter, who was

just maybe three, would sit and look at the radio, and say, "Where's Granddad?" She seemed to associate Granddad with the radio.

He was very helpful with several people. We had a gardener who was drafted in the Second World War. He broke, emotionally and mentally, and was sent to a mental hospital. He was Polish. Leo's sister was asked to take him from the hospital. She didn't feel she was capable to care for him. Harold took him. We took him to our place in the country. Harold spent a lot of time with him, pretty much helped get him back to normal. Harold thought it would be a good idea for him to go down to the San Joaquin Valley and maybe get a job on a farm. He arranged that. Later he met and married a widow who had a little boy. They're still in touch with me.

Riess: Were these therapeutic relationships?

Jones: No, I wouldn't say he ever thought he was doing therapy. But Harold was very sympathetic with people who had problems, and did what he could on more or less a common sense basis.

Riess: You're the one who's always referred to as nurturant, but would you say that he was also?

Jones: Yes, I would say so. He was an unusual father. He would say to Lesley, if it was time to wash her hands, "Wash hands?" He talked to them at their level, and seemed to appreciate them at their level. I have letters which he wrote, mostly to his parents, telling about little things that the children said and did at various ages, their use of language.

My daughter reminded me when I was talking to her the other day, that at one time he bought each of the grandchildren pencils with their name printed on them. They lived in El Cerrito at the time. On the way out to get the grandchildren, he hid pencils in little places along the way. Coming back to our house, Harold would make excuses to stop at these places and the children would find these pencils with their names on them in bushes, under the stones and so forth.

My daughter, Barbara, has written up some of these experiences. She said when she drove back across the country with him from the East--I guess when she must have been in high school or a freshman in college--they went through North Dakota or South Dakota, and she found a fossil bone. She said, "I've often wondered if Dad found it and put it there where I'd see it!" [laughs] "He never told me, but I always thought it was so unusual that on my first trip going through the Dakotas that we would be taking a walk and we'd find this bone!" [laughter] He loved to play jokes.

Meiklejohn, the Oath and Psychologist Friends

Riess: Was Alexander Meiklejohn an important influence on Harold?

Jones: Oh, yes. Meiklejohn was president of Amherst, when Harold was a student there. Harold tutored his two boys. I have letters that Harold wrote to the boys. I have letters that he wrote to the first Mrs. Meiklejohn. I think he was always somewhat in awe of Meiklejohn, but also very closely associated with the family. Of course, Meiklejohn is a liberal, a strong civil liberties advocate. At the time of the oath, Harold signed the oath. Meiklejohn would never have signed that oath. Harold used to go walking with him, but he didn't follow his political lead. Meiklejohn set an example, and he had a following. I have some pictures of Meiklejohn and newspaper clippings that Harold collected. Meiklejohn was let go from Amherst, and went to Michigan. But then he was invited back, finally, for an LL.D. at Amherst, just as Tolman here had his problems with the regents, and then received an honorary degree and has a building named for him.

Riess: Why was he fired from Amherst?

Jones: Some people said he was a poor administrator, but perhaps his political activities were unpopular with the regents.

Riess: You had said that Harold didn't follow Meiklejohn on the oath controversy.

Jones: No. During that oath controversy, Harold thought that the people who refused to sign the oath were admirable, but he didn't feel that in his position he wanted to make an issue of it.

Riess: You mean the people who refused to sign the oath?

Jones: Yes, who refused to sign it. And, of course, we knew Tolman; we had arguments up here with Tolman and Meiklejohn. Harold felt that the regents had made a great mistake. But he just felt they were probably as sorry as anybody else that they'd required it. He didn't feel that it was going to lead to all sorts of restrictions on people's liberties. In other words, he just didn't feel he wanted to object to the extent of resigning.

Riess: Did you agree with him?

Jones: I would have been more willing not to sign. In fact, I talked to Tolman about it, and Tolman advised me to go ahead and sign. I think partly because he knew Harold wasn't going to resist. I don't think I would have added anything, as far as my status was concerned, to Tolman's group. [chuckles]

Riess: In such a discussion with Tolman up here, who else might have been here?

Jones: The Tolmans, the Erik Eriksons, the Meiklejohns, Stewart Chase who was visiting here then, and Harold and I.

Riess: The fact that some of these people were psychologists, was there a special thoughtfulness about the actual psychological consequences, damage aspects, whatever? In a group like this did you talk like psychologists?

Jones: On the oath?

Riess: Yes.

Jones: No.

Riess: The Tolmans, Eriksons and Joneses were just like other people?

Jones: [laughter] Yes. Erikson didn't say much, as a matter of fact, as I remember. I think eventually he did not sign. But at that point, I wouldn't have known what he was thinking about.

Psychoanalysis, and Other Theories

Jones: On one of these outlines, you asked about Freud, and we haven't said much about that. We had a group up here--the Tolmans, Jean Macfarlane, Jean Macfarlane's husband then, Don, and Harold and I--who got together and read Freud.

Riess: Did you say Erikson was in that group or not?

Jones: No. Erikson wasn't here then. That was earlier, before Erikson came here.

Riess: Did you pooh-pooh it?

Jones: Oh, no! We were seriously interested in what Freud had to say. Harold and I had a friend, Gordon van Tassil Hamilton, who was an analyst in Santa Barbara. We knew him first in New York City; he was doing a study of marriage. Harold and I were subjects for that study. So we knew him back there. He published a book with an introduction by John B. Watson. An associate, Kenneth Macgowan, used the same material in a book. [Hamilton, G.V. A Research in Marriage. Boni, N.Y., 1929; Macgowan, K. What's Wrong With Marriage. 1929.] Then he moved to Santa Barbara, and was in private practice.

Harold and I, two different summers, had some analysis daily for maybe six weeks. So I mean we were not anti-Freudian by any means. They called it didactic analysis, learning, really, something about analysis. We lay on a couch, and told our dreams, and talked. I can remember Hamilton's putting on the board the id, the ego, the superego, and that sort of thing.

Riess: Did you and Harold share that experience with each other, then?

Jones: Yes. And we talked a good deal about how we should handle our children, that sort of thing.

Riess: I would like you to tell me how much of an influence all of that was on the theoretical basis of the Child Study Center?

Jones: I think the influence was not so much on the theoretical basis, but on bringing in people from different theoretical backgrounds--for example, Erik Erikson, Elsa Frenkel-Brunswick, Nevitt Sanford, dynamic psychologists. I think that our Institute probably had more varied personnel than other institutes. We had physiologists, physicians, psychologists, sociologists, social workers. I think that was pretty largely due to Harold's influence. Harold was first director of research, and then he became director of the Institute. It was under his directorship that many people from other disciplines came in.

Riess: How did you influence each other--in staff meetings? What was the way of sharing thinking?

Jones: We had seminars, staff meetings, research reports, person to person communication. For example, Erik discussed his play techniques, you know, having children do things with toys, families, and that sort of thing.

Riess: Had he already developed his theory of the eight stages of growth?

Jones: Yes, I'm pretty sure he had.

Riess: It wasn't through observations at the Child Study Center.

Jones: No, I'm sure he had these ideas before.

Riess: From observation, or was that theoretical?

Jones: I'd say it was pretty largely theoretical, although he did observe Indians, and he's had some reports on the behavior of Indians. But I would say his contribution was mostly theoretical. He had a practice; he may have used that too.

Riess: The thing that everyone knows that Freud did was to orient most of life toward the sex drive. What were your various responses to that?

[pause] For instance, was Harold, with his New England background, a bit of a Puritan?

Jones: He was, and I was too, as I told you last week. I don't think that Freud--he thought what happened to you as a result of your sex attitudes and sex behavior was important, but I think he was pretty much of a Puritan himself! [laughter]

In fact, one professor at Amherst told Harold that he thought too much sex interfered with your creativity. I think we tended to be a little Puritannical.

Child-raising and Watson's Theories

Riess: From what I've read, I would think Freudian psychology would not have been well-received by people who were in the developmental field.

Jones: Well, certainly Watson, who is associated with child study, and Freud, are thought of as antitheses. Actually, they both believed that childhood is the very formative period, that parental influence was extremely important. But of course, from there on, they're quite different. Watson thought the answer was for parents to keep their hands off and not have children become too attached or dependent upon their parents. In other words, he didn't like the idea of parental fixations. Freud didn't like that idea either. But I would say that Freud thought children should be associated with their parents much more. And Watson thought they shouldn't be subjected to too much parental influence.

In this country the first nursery schools tended to be scheduled for all day, or nine to three with lunch and naps. You see, they were patterned after the English nursery schools. England had nursery schools before we did, during the First World War. We had English nursery school teachers over here. And Americans, Abigail Eliot for example, went to England to study.

At Columbia an Englishwoman, Katherine Edwards, was the head of the nursery school where I got my training. She was very strict. Children had to finish their juice; as she said, "I'm as inexorable as the laws of nature: if a child takes tomato juice, he has to finish it."

And I would say that the first nursery schools were fairly severe in this way. Children had to finish their juice, they had to take their nap, and this kind of thing.

I think maybe it was partly Freud's influence that parents got

the notion that they needed to spend more time with their children and were responsible for their parent-child relationships. At our Institute we started nursery schools with the naps and lunch, but before long we had just the morning session for younger and the afternoon session for older children. Our mostly middle-class children did not need the all day care provided for working mothers. Also, two sessions gave us more children of a wider age range for observation and study.

Riess: At the time that Katherine Edwards was insisting that you finish your tomato juice, was that also a time when the parenting was in the same spirit?

Jones: I would say so. And I would say that that would have been Watson's influence, also. In his book, Psychological Care of Infant and Child [New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1928], he writes: "Never hug and kiss them [children]. Never let them sit on your lap. If you must, kiss them once on the forehead when they say goodnight. Shake hands with them in the morning."

He quoted one parent, "a dear old lady," who said, "Thank God my children are grown and that I had a chance to enjoy them before I met you." Of course, Watson's whole theory of being objective was probably part of that. You know, he's written quite a bit in popular magazines about, "give me a child when he is two, and I can make of him a merchant, thief, beggar, anything. I can make anything of him." It perhaps had to do with his own divorce and remarriage and all this kind of thing. I'm not sure.

[added later] When John B. Watson's life is featured, I tend to be called on, as his "last student," to comment. This year at the American Psychological Association meetings his son, James B. Watson, was a speaker on the same program. Our meeting was cordial and productive. His remarks were insightful and beneficial, especially for those who are familiar with John B. Watson's Psychological Care of Infant and Child and have doubts about his recommendations.

To quote Jim Watson in regard to his own upbringing: "I, frankly, think a better end product would have resulted, if the process of growing up under the direction of two behaviorists had been annealed with some measure of affection. I am sure my upbringing is not unique--behaviorism was then and is now a very convenient way of raising kids. But it is my great hope that the teachings of his disciples and others who have followed him have tempered the emotionally Spartan upbringing that he espoused. I believe his behavioristic theories on child development unquestionably have value in terms of life's preparation through the setting of standards and developing an understanding of the parameters of acceptable and responsible behavior, but they could have been much improved if one were permitted to mix in a big helping of parental affection." Rosalie Rayner Watson might be

said to have endorsed John's theories in her article: "I am the mother of a behaviorist's son." [Dec. 1930, Parent's Magazine, 5, 16-18]

Jim's wife, Jakie, daughter, Becky and her fiancé, his son Scott and his wife all came to the meeting. He took us to dinner afterwards. And recently Jim was in Berkeley on business and we got together, first at my house, then for dinner at the Claremont. His mother, Rosalie, died when he was ten. Since she had been a classmate of mine at Vassar, I was able to talk to him about her. I got out my Vassar yearbook with his mother's picture which he had never seen. I had enlargements made and sent to him. Whether or not we approve of his behavioristic upbringing, he is an attractive, thoughtful and understanding person.

Harold's writing, Mary's TV Class

Riess: I realize that the beginning of this conversation was my asking about Meiklejohn at Amherst. I'm glad we mentioned him. [reads] "Undoubtedly the Amherst education contributed much to our conception of Harold Jones as a gentleman and scholar of the old school." [Harold E. Jones Memorial, appended]

Jones: I haven't read that recently; that sounds like Sanford.

Riess: Yes. He also talks in this of Harold's remarkably lucid and graceful literary style.

Jones: Yes. Actually, I think everybody at the Institute, and certainly I, felt that he was just an excellent editor. As it says in there, if you had something that needed to be fixed, he helped you fix it, in writing. He certainly did that for me. When I first started writing things after he was gone, I just didn't know whether they were any good or not because I didn't have him to tell me.

I gave the first TV course for credit for the University. I remember once or twice I came home, and he would comment on something I'd said on TV. We didn't have a TV at first. Sears used to have a store on University Avenue, and he'd go down to Sears and watch my program. One Monday he was in there, and they wouldn't turn to that program. He went to Hinks, and when I got home he said, "You look better on Hinks TV than on Sears," and he bought one of them.

Of course, he was on the program quite often. Actually, we gave the program together.

Riess: Did you have a script that you read from?



Mary Jones hosting the first television course for credit from UC Berkeley; a visiting orthodontist and Marjorie Honzik discuss thumb-sucking, 1952.



Mary Jones interviewing Larry Frank, Director of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Foundation, 1952.

Jones: Too much. [Compared with] the way people get up and talk on TV now, we were much too scripted. We always had other people on, you know. We had Larry Frank once, when he was out here. Nursery school teachers, and some of the people in the study with their children. It was much too scripted.

Riess: It was a class for credit?

Jones: Yes, for credit, if you wanted it. There was a syllabus that went with it. They took exams. It was a course through the extension division.

Riess: Did you and Harold engage in mutual critiquing of each other?

Jones: Well, not too much. In fact, as I say, from the letters I've been reading, he was very admiring of what I was doing mostly, and telling people so. I remember one letter, I guess he wrote to me, saying we had been asked to do something, and he said, "You can handle a discussion much better than I can"

3. THE WAY WEST

[Interview 3: February 2, 1981]

A Career for Mary Cover Jones

Careers for Women, 1919

Riess: You said in your interview with Deana Logan [Psychology of Women Quarterly, op.cit.] that there was peer support for combining achievement and motherhood evident at Vassar in 1919. I wondered how it was evident.

Jones: It was supportive. Yes, it was; except that I first thought of going into medicine, pediatrics. I've always enjoyed children, and thought of going into medicine to work with children. The college physician discouraged me. She said, "You have to realize that if you go into medicine, it probably means you can never marry." In those days, you either got married or you had a career. I dropped organic chemistry, which I was taking in order to get into a medical school, and decided not to go into medicine. It was about that time when I heard Watson lecture, and decided that child psychology would be a substitute for medicine.

Riess: This statement was about the support for combining achievement and motherhood evident at Vassar.

Jones: Well, it could have been, because two of our classmates did go into medicine. They didn't marry, as a matter of fact, either. Why the physician thought she had to tell me about this I'm not sure. But apparently I wanted to marry, although I don't remember a time that that would have stopped me.

John B. Watson

Riess: You said that Watson was charismatic. How about describing him, and telling me really what charismatic was.

Jones: Well, he was handsome, but this didn't influence me as much as it did some other people. I was reading Lois Meek Stolz's interview with Senn. Thorndyke suggested that she go and talk to Watson, and that perhaps she could work in child psychology. This was when she was at Teacher's College Columbia getting her degree. She went down to see Watson. He was then in advertising. She describes how handsome he was, and how polite he was. He rose to meet her. Usually professors didn't treat students this way, she thought. She was terribly impressed with him.

One reason I wasn't so impressed was that I met him through my friend, so it was more personal than professional. The other thing is, as I told Senn in my interview, which I looked at yesterday, it was when I was first married and I was just attached to Harold, and other men didn't exist for me, even to look at, apparently! [Senn, Milton J.E. Insights on the Child Development Movement in the United States. Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development, 1975, 40, (3-4), 1-99.] Although I will say that I enjoyed Watson very much, and did appreciate his style. He was a Southern gentleman.

He really didn't talk much about his theories and so forth with me. He would talk more about how much it cost him to go out last Saturday night, and whether for a talk he should wear a blue suit or a brown suit. Once I told him "a business suit" when he was going to be on the platform, to speak at Teachers College, Columbia, and everyone else had blue suits. He scolded me for not having properly prepared him.

Riess: Was he underestimating your mind in not having conversations about theories with you?

Jones: I don't think so. I think he just was glad to get away from that on Saturdays when he came up to our house.

I'd like to say this. I have never explicitly wanted to follow Watson's advice to parents. We were thrilled by his theoretical point of view in psychology, contrasted to what we'd had from Titchener and other laboratory psychologists. He had a chapter in his book on personality, and there were few psychology textbooks at that time, if any, that had a chapter on personality--this sort of thing. But when it came to his advice to parents, we weren't with him.

That's another thing Senn asked me: if I followed Watson's advice. I didn't. I thought it was too bad that he wrote some of his

popular books and articles on parenting. He himself said in his autobiography that two books which he had written were a mistake. [Watson, J.B. John Broadus Watson, A History of Psychology in Autobiography, Vol. 3. Edited by C. Murchison. Worcester, Mass.: Clark University Press, 1936.] He said that he didn't know enough to write them. These were Behaviorism [New York: W.W. Norton Inc., 1924], and Psychological Care of Infant and Child, 1928.

Senn asked me if I'd followed Watson's advice. I said, "No, I hope I raised my children more naturally." [chuckles]

Riess: I asked you last week, after we had turned off the tape, why it had taken your insight to consider positive modification of behavior using his theories, and you had said Watson himself would have gone on and done--

Jones: He says so, that he unfortunately lost contact with the child whom he had conditioned (Albert). I think if he had stayed in the field, he would have gone on with positive approaches.

Riess: You feel that Watson had not done enough work with children?

Jones: You mean that his recommendations were not based on experience with children? I would say so, although he'd had four children of his own.

Riess: How did they turn out?

Jones: One son committed suicide. I don't know what to say about how they came out. I admire James, whom I know.

He complained to me at one time that Rosalie's parents allowed the children to be too affectionate, and spoiled them and so forth.

Riess: That was certainly a period in child-raising. Can you imagine child-raising theory ever returning to that?

Jones: No. But several people have said that Freud and Watson were alike in emphasizing the importance of early childhood. This was a good contribution. He [Watson] made some excellent contributions, but he also went off the deep end on some things.

Riess: You said he came to your apartment. At the Hecksher?

Jones: The Hecksher.

Riess: Were there other proteges?

Jones: No. Lois Stolz had told me several times that she wanted to work with Watson. He told her to come to the Hecksher Foundation and see what I was doing. She came, and I met her. I'd forgotten this, but she says

that some child had diptheria, and she wasn't allowed to come in for weeks. She wanted to get her thesis done, so she did something else. Apparently [Edward L.] Thorndike had sent her down to see Watson.

Riess: In general, would he have worked well, Watson, with students and proteges?

Jones: Well, yes, I would say so. You see, Rosalie was his protege. That was kind of the undoing of him academically. My husband helped me with writing my articles on children's fears, and suggested putting in charts and things. I would like to have had Harold or Watson co-author those articles. I said to Watson, "Don't you want to co-author these?" He said, "No, I've made my reputation, and you have yours to make; if I put my name on there, it won't do you any good." So he was a generous person. He didn't want Harold's name as co-author, with mine either.

The Hecksher Foundation

Jones: While we're on the subject, this was at the Hecksher Foundation, which you said you wanted to discuss. There again, I talked to Lois Stolz yesterday and told her I was doing this history. She said, "Be sure to tell them about your life at Hecksher, because this was very unusual for a psychologist to actually live in the place where she was working with and observing children."

In addition to those two articles which I published, I did a lot of other things. Some of these Watson refers to in his books that came after. One was that the children were kept in bed because there weren't enough attendants to watch them. I made recommendations to the institution about improving the situation for the babies. Another was I kept a record of crying, and found there were certain periods when more babies were crying. I recommended a change in schedule so that they ate at a different time, this sort of thing.

Riess: What was the model of care for them?

Jones: It was institutional care. Hecksher had hoped to have, as he called it, "The Children's Home for Happiness." He thought it would be an orphanage. There were not enough children available who needed permanent care, as in an orphanage. There were children there whose parents temporarily couldn't take care of them, or perhaps they'd been deserted. But they were there weeks or months, maybe a year or two.

Riess: Were some of them retrieved by the families, or were they put up for adoption?

Jones: They were either retrieved or they were put up for adoption or went into foster homes, this sort of thing.

Riess: So they weren't following any theoretical model; this was just keeping a maximum number of people quiet.

Jones: Yes. We gave some of the children crayons and they scribbled on the wall. Hecksher didn't like this. [laughs]

Riess: Didn't he build a new place?

Jones: This was the new place. Do you want to see some pictures of it?

Riess: Yes. [brief tape interruption]

Jones: This picture is taken from a program for the children's theater. When my article about Watson came out in the American Psychologist, people sent me pictures and clippings. Somebody found that picture and sent it to me. [Jones, M.C. Albert, Peter and John B. Watson, American Psychologist, 1974, 29, 581-583.]

Riess: Was Hecksher involved enough to have a say in how the place was run?

Jones: Oh, yes. There was an apartment on the third or fourth floor, which was supposed to be used to teach young people how to keep house. There wasn't any candidate for such training, so we got that apartment.

Riess: And you and Harold lived there?

Jones: Yes. And Barbara, our older daughter, Barbara.

Riess: This is interesting. Of course you'll hang onto this because the program for the children's theatre is also a whole description of the Hecksher Foundation for Children. This building, I take it, still exists on 5th Avenue between 104th and 105th?

Jones: Yes.

Riess: Is it still functioning?

Jones: No.

Riess: You were able to make these changes. What kind of a staff was there besides you?

Jones: We weren't on the staff at all. We were just allowed to observe, and we made suggestions. They had the kind of staff you'd have in a home for children, mostly attendants, one nurse, and I don't remember too many others.

Watson wrote in a footnote in one of his books that he had only seen one child who was not afraid of a loud sound. Well, that was our Barbara. She was home with her mother and father sitting in a playpen that she was accustomed to, and Watson's making a loud sound behind her back didn't bother her.

Riess: That doesn't seem like a very valid observation then, does it?

Jones: No. He had the theory that there were three basic emotions: one was fear; one was anger; one was love. We don't believe that any more.

R. S. Woodworth's Seminar

Riess: The seminars and classes that you and Harold took with Woodworth, how large were they?

Jones: I'd say about a dozen people. Gardner Murphy was a member. The Gateses in education were there--Arthur Gates, and Georgina. They were in that seminar the year before they were married, I believe. Harold and I were in the seminar before we were married and every year that we were at Columbia. Harold and I were not demonstrative in front of people, and the Gateses were. [laughter] Harold and I were amused that they should let people see how they were feeling about each other!

After we got married I kept my maiden name for a while. We were married the first of September, 1920. Woodworth knew all about it. When we met for the seminar the first time, he looked at us and said, "I'm not sure how to introduce these two people." [laughs] The class responded with appropriate humor.

Riess: Why did you keep your name?

Jones: I was just that much of a feminist. I kept my name, I guess, until maybe Barbara was born. Then I decided I might as well take Harold's name.

Riess: Were there great debates in those seminars?

Jones: I wouldn't say there were great debates; but I will say that Woodworth was an excellent person for that seminar, because he was eclectic. We talked about Freud, and we talked about Watson, and we talked about the more conventional academic psychologists.

Riess: In the memorial article on Harold, I read that Woodworth and Harold went on camping trips together.

Jones: Yes. They were more than just professional associates. It wasn't just a student-faculty relationship.

Riess: But Woodworth didn't have that relationship with the other eleven people in the seminar?

Jones: No.

Riess: Something about Harold, once again.

Jones: As I told you, at Amherst he went walking with Robert Frost. Apparently he had a way of relating easily and meaningfully with other people.

Riess: I remember in the television program on B. F. Skinner and his psychology, it showed him walking through the woods, and he said how important nature was to him. I wonder what the connection is between the interest in nature and the interest in the development of the child.

Jones: I haven't thought about that, but it seems to me to make sense. When Harold wrote letters to his parents, he wrote about flowers and how they differed, and how some birds were different and had different habits from the ones in Connecticut. He wrote a lot about the children and things they said and did and how they were growing.

In Defense of Child Psychology

Jones: Maybe this would be a place to read you a little bit that I found that Harold had written defending child psychology. [Jones leaves room; returns] I guess you'd say this was how he was describing the difference between the experimental psychologist and the child psychologist.

[reads] "Developmental psychologists tend to be oriented toward problems of human behavior, social behavior, and individual differences, and personality theory. They have many contacts outside of psychology in the social sciences, education, psychiatry, and also in the biological sciences. Their interest in physical and physiological correlates of human behavior extends widely beyond the central nervous system to other organ systems." Which I thought was interesting. "The developmental psychologist deals with problems that are often of great immediate human concern, which at some points require exploratory approaches because of a more limited background of theory and method. As compared with the laboratory scientist, who has abundant and ever-present resources of white rats and college students, the developmental psychologist must sometimes range far afield in assembling subjects and in collecting data. Because the problems with which the developmental psychologist deal are more likely at one point or another

er to have an urgent practical significance, they may become branded as applied or service-oriented. It would be fairer to say that developmental psychology is equally concerned with basic research. Should they be penalized because there is a wide interest in what they are doing?"

Riess: Interesting. It's very defensive, isn't it.

Jones: Yes. It was written for that purpose.

[reads] "Developmental psychology favors an undergraduate education closely allied to the traditions of a liberal education, and a graduate training which will give greater options to the student in pursuing relevant interests in other social and biological sciences and great opportunity for research experience with human beings."

Riess: When was that written?

Jones: Nineteen-sixty. Just before he retired. And he died, you know, in Paris. This was in the Spring of that year.

Riess: So there still was a need at that time to defend and explain it.

Jones: Yes. There still is, if you read Lomax and Senn.

Riess: At the time, incidentally, did you all call yourselves behavioralists? Or did you have those labels pinned to you? Or developmentalists, or anything like that?

Jones: I don't think so. Developmental, yes. Not behavioralists particularly. Life-Span Research is a current term.

Mary Jones: "Peter" and Ph.D. Thesis

Riess: I have not read any of your studies on "Peter" [experimental subject].

Jones: A lot of people come up and ask me what happened to Peter, and of course I don't know any more than Watson knows what happened to his Albert. I did go to see his mother after he left the Hecksher and before we came out here. I may have said somewhere that his mother had an approach which tended to frighten him. He wanted to go out when I was there visiting with her, and she said, "Don't go out, Peter, somebody might get you." (Not Peter; that wasn't his name. But that's what I called him).

Riess: How was Peter singled out?

Jones: Harold and I had a snake and some white rats and when the children were playing we took them in to see what the children would do with them. Peter was afraid of them. He was the most afraid, and so we took him for an experiment. Someone who met me recently said they couldn't imagine me handling these white rats and snakes. We kept the snake in a suitcase under our bed! [laughter] A great big snake. In fact, we used that snake in experiments with other children in other articles that we'd written. Harold and I wrote an article together about children's fears.

Riess: Did that work that you did generate a lot of interest after you published it?

Jones: No. And as I've said in one of my papers, it wasn't acceptable for a Ph.D. thesis because there weren't enough cases. So what I did for my Ph.D. thesis was also something that Watson suggested: look at babies and see at what ages various functions developed. This was about the same time that Gesell was working on his cases. I went to well baby clinics in New York City, where mothers brought their well babies for check-ups, and tested to see at what age they could follow an object with eye movements of various kinds, at what age they could sit up, what age they could hold their heads up, and so forth. It was a preliminary to the present intelligence tests for babies, motor and intelligence tests. I had enough cases, a couple hundred.

Riess: What kind of contact did you have with Gesell, then?

Jones: We knew him; Senn asked that question. We went up there, and we thought we would have more contact with Gesell, but he came out of his office, shook hands with us, told us we could look around, and disappeared.

Riess: Where was he?

Jones: Yale. I knew Helen Thompson, who worked with him. She was a classmate of mine. So we made our contact through Helen Thompson.

Riess: Does it amaze you now, from our point of view in 1980, that this kind of observation hadn't ever been really systematically carried out?

Jones: Nancy Bayley's Mental Scale for the early years is well standardized and widely used. In the early days there were people who wrote baby biographies. There was one written by Millicent Shinn, here in California--I believe she was the first woman to get a Ph.D. at U.C. She lived in Nyles. Millicent Shinn's, The Biography of a Baby [Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1900], was about her niece, Lucy. She kept notes on all the babies in the family. A friend of mine, Virginia Woodson, has these notes. Then there were several Europeans who wrote biographies--Pestalozzi. I'd read all of those. The Fentons wrote a book based on observations of one child. Darwin kept notes on his ba-

bies. And, of course, Piaget observed his children, but that's more recent.

Observing Mothers and Children

Riess: In that first study you must have already seen a great range of development. Did you work with the doctors?

Jones: No, I didn't, really. Well, in the Hecksher Foundation, I might talk to the nurse or to a visiting doctor about some child that I thought might use a little something or other in the way of observation, or more freedom than he was having.

I haven't mentioned another experience that Harold and I had just before we came out here. There was a Mr. Harmon, a wealthy real estate man who had been ill, and his nurse Edith Burdick had one of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Fellowships. I met her through that. Well, Harmon felt that she had saved his life--she'd nursed him when he was ill--and he wanted to do something for her. She was interested in studying children, so Harmon bought a house and we lived there, Harold and I and both the girls, and Edith Burdick. We were set up as a--what would they call it?--foster home, where babies who were waiting to go back to their parents or were up for adoption were cared for.

Riess: Halfway or some kind of halfway house.

Jones: Yes. We were there for a year, and that's when we were offered the job out here.

Riess: From where were they referred?

Jones: From the city department--I've forgotten the name of that department that would place children who needed to be placed. We had at one time as many as four children whom we observed and kept records on.

Then we came out here after a year, and left that with Edith Burdick, and it finally folded. But that was another experience.

Riess: After you have seen mobs of babies do you still feel a kind of tug at your heartstrings?

Jones: Yes. And I'd say the same thing is true with the children, now adults, whom we've been observing here in the longitudinal studies, like Millie whom you know. I'm very close to some of them.

Riess: But you did have the satisfaction here of being able to follow them.

You didn't with the others.

Jones: Yes.

Riess: I just wondered if you have to harden your hearts in some way when you do that kind of study.

Jones: Yes. And then just leave them, and "what are the practical results?" Of course, that's still the question. You know we're getting out another book at the Institute, from the last follow-up. [Present and Past in Middle Life, Academic Press, 1982.] The last chapter in this book is called "An Overview." We still have the question, "Do we know enough to give advice about how to raise children?" and "Which advice is going to hold up?" We all feel this, but Jean Macfarlane expresses it particularly. People who were so promising when they were youngsters who haven't delivered, and the people who had problems when they were young and are now doing fairly well. Of course, one of the theories is that if you have to learn early to cope with things, you learn to cope.

Riess: Isn't that what they found out in a lot of the creativity studies, too?

Jones: Yes. And we don't like the notion that everything that happens to the children is due to their parents. You know, there's a phrase: "the schizophrenogenic mother." I think this is unfortunate, to think that a mother makes her child abnormal, it isn't all the poor mother's fault. Certainly it's nothing that she does purposely. I think this was Erikson's point of view in his case of "Jean" in Childhood and Society. "Jean" is now middle-aged. Her mother and I are friends.

Riess: You're probably having to conclude that a lot of what you've done that's been most helpful is to be an extended family for people, and just a ventilating place.

Jones: Yes. Jean Macfarlane's study, the Guidance Study, had a group that were interviewed and a group that were not interviewed. The group that were interviewed were given some chance to talk about their problems, maybe a little advice. There have been fewer divorces in that group than in the control group. So apparently it does do something. That's one of the criticisms of these studies, that we change people, so how can we--[laughs]--generalize?

Riess: The schizophrenogenic psychologist also! [Jones laughs] What was Harold doing all of these years?

Jones: He was teaching; and he was writing his thesis on Experimental Methods of College Teaching.

Riess: Did he interact with the children in the same way as you?

Jones: At the Hecksher Foundation, you mean?

Riess: Yes.

Jones: Not as much, no. He liked to take pictures of the groups of youngsters. I can remember when they'd be up on the roof playing, he'd go up and talk to them, take pictures and that sort of thing. He was often with me when I was observing. But he spent more time on the Columbia campus.

Moving On

Married by Norman Thomas

Riess: You were married by Norman Thomas. I want to back up a little bit. I asked you earlier whether you were religious, either of you.

Jones: I don't think Harold was ever religious, although he had ministers in his background. I was religious. I went to Sunday School and joined the Lutheran Church. Was it Billy Sunday who was one of those evangelists? Someone came to Johnstown. We were dismissed from high school to go to hear him. Almost all of us "hit the trail," which meant you went up and promised whatever you promised when you hit the trail. You got this emotional feeling that what you wanted to do was the right thing, and that you belonged to God. Almost everybody in the class went up. I remember one boy who didn't. Must have been hard on him.

These things kind of wear off. However, I was religious. I went to YWCA summer camps. After my freshman year, I worked for the YWCA in Johnstown. In other words, I was still fairly religious. Then I took a course in philosophy my second year, and that was the end of my religious feelings and beliefs. I spoke to my philosophy teacher about this, and he asked me to come and talk to him, because I guess he didn't want to be responsible. [laughter]

Riess: Would you tell me about that marriage service?

Jones: I told you about how we met Norman Thomas.

Riess: You met through your brother.

Jones: Yes. The first of September was my birthday, and we decided to be married on my birthday. Norman Thomas invited us to come to his house to be married. It was their wedding anniversary, also, I believe. Then he called up maybe a day or two ahead of time and said, "We're moving on the first, so how about coming to my office?"

So we went to his office. I had an uncle from Johnstown who used to go to New York on business. He made it a point to go at that time to New York because he knew I was going to be married and wanted to come to the wedding. We called at his hotel and left word that we were not going to be married at Norman Thomas's house, but at his office. He got the message that I was going to be married to Norman Thomas. [laughter] Anyhow, he missed the wedding. He was always sorry about that. My brother and sister came as witnesses. I have the book that Norman Thomas gave us. He gave us this book and he said, "You can use as much of this service or as little as you want, or you can choose your own service, but there are certain phrases that are required for it to be legal." So we said, "Let's have those." And that was it.

He gave us this book, and he forgot to sign it. So years later I sent it back to him. He apologized for not having signed it. The marriage already, of course, was legal. But he hadn't signed this book. Then when Harold died I wrote him, and he wrote me this nice little letter, which I appreciated, saying that he had gone through this same experience of having a good marriage and experiencing the loss of his partner.

Riess: Why didn't you get married at home?

Jones: We were a little unconventional. We thought of being married at home. I went home and was planning it, but we wanted to be married on my birthday, and Harold had a job testing children and assigning them to various institutions and homes and so forth. It was just hard for him to get away at that time, so we just decided to skip it. I remember my mother and father were disappointed; and someone said to my father, "She's saving you a lot of money. You should accept this." [laughs]

Riess: So your mother and father didn't come to the wedding.

Jones: No, just my brother and sister.

Riess: What did you wear?

Jones: I was looking in the mirror, and I said to my sister, "Should I wash my face?" She said, "If I were going to be married, I'd wash my face." I washed it. I remember a silk suit; it wasn't anything new or special.

Then we went on a trip up the Hudson on a steamboat.

Motivations, Inner and Outer Drives

Riess: In your interview with Deana, you say it's the outer pressures of life that have motivated you, rather than an inner need to do something. What made Harold tick? Was it an inner need?

Jones: I would say that in both cases the motivation was inner but the direction it took depended upon outer circumstances. In Harold's case I think part of it was a masculine-cultural kind of thing. Men were supposed to achieve, and I think Harold had that orientation.

Riess: But would you call that an inner need?

Jones: Inner?

Riess: Yes.

Jones: No, I wouldn't. That's a cultural need. But, I'm sure he had an inner, a motivation, need to achieve.

Riess: Are you saying that in a vacuum you probably wouldn't have done anything?

Jones: No, [laughing] I don't think I would say that. Obviously, I wouldn't have kept on as long as I did, if there hadn't been something inside. I think this was due to my father and brother--my father who was very pleased with anything I accomplished, and my brother who set an example. Yes, there was motivation there, certainly. I think in Harold's case, there was much more directed motivation. He started at Massachusetts Agricultural College. I think it was his mother who encouraged him to transfer to Amherst where he got more of a liberal education and could move in the direction of a professional career.

Riess: Well, then maybe there is no such thing, really, as inner need, because it sounds like in both cases you're talking about other people's expectations.

Jones: Yes. Well, you want to meet other people's expectations. Sure, there's a good feeling about getting somewhere, and accomplishing something. Senn asked me if I would have gone into therapy if I had stayed in New York and worked with Watson. I told him yes. But now, as I think of it, I'm not sure I would have. I don't think I would have been suited to that.

Riess: Who was going into that at the time?

Jones: Very few people. Senn has a chapter on the relation of pediatricians to child development, and also psychiatrists. There were very few, either pediatricians or psychiatrists, who were working with the

"whole" child, or who felt it was essential to work with children from the child development point of view.

As laboratory psychologists tend to feel that developmental psychology isn't really as scientific, I think that maybe pediatricians and psychiatrists felt that working with the "whole" child was not as scientific or professional as working in a specific discipline. And, of course, there are still arguments as to whether psychologists should have state certification for practice as psychiatrists do. In some states they do; in some states they don't.

Teachers and Parents

Riess: You published early in Parent-Teacher Magazine. Were teachers interested in your work?

Jones: I hope so. Child development and progressive education were closely associated. I took courses at Teachers College with Dewey and Kilpatrick, innovators in education. They encouraged teachers to think of children as individuals who could profit by educational opportunities planned to meet their needs. It was expected that parent education and preschool programs would develop within the public school system.

The program in child study and parent education in California was financed by the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial in 1921 when Herbert Stolz was in the State Department of Education. But the institutes were set up to function independently of academic departments.

At the Institute I worked with parents who were going to be leaders of parent groups. Herbert Stolz was in charge of that endeavor. I also worked in the nursery school on research projects. Language development was one of our areas. Sidney Adams, a student, wrote his Ph.D. thesis and published on children's language development. I talked to various teachers' groups, lots of them. But I haven't worked specifically with teachers in the schools, except with our longitudinal samples; we got the Oakland Growth Study group first in the fifth grade, and we knew and cooperated with those teachers.

Some teachers were interested in our research. Sometimes they talked to us about special problems, and we'd talk to them about the children in our sample. Our group went to Claremont Junior High, which was a somewhat experimental school associated with the University Education Department. The University used it's classes for practice teaching and observation. The vice-principal, Helen Hunt, was associated both with the University and with the junior high school. You could call it a "progressive" school. And the same was true of University High School. They were really experimental schools.

In the case of the Oakland group, originally called the Adolescent Growth Study, we had a counselor, Judith Chaffey, who was the children's counselor from the fifth grade on through high school. She also visited the parents. I visited the homes, too. She was on our staff.

As late as 1956, Harold wrote in a report to the Division of Educational Psychology of the American Psychological Association that closer association was needed between universities and school systems.

Comments on Larry Frank

Riess: Please describe Larry Frank and your meeting with him.

Jones: I was taking a course at Teacher's College in the summer. I heard that Larry Frank wanted to meet students. I went and met with him. There were several other women. He told us about these fellowships. I was quite excited. These fellowships (they paid something) would probably support me. And I would be enabled to take courses in medical school, in nutrition--at Teacher's College--and psychology. I talked to Woodworth about it. (Woodworth was my advisor in psychology.) He thought it was a good idea. So I applied for a fellowship.

Riess: Larry Frank--what was his background?

Jones: He got his degree in economics. He was a foundations administrator.

Riess: Was he just an administrator?

Jones: Yes, he was an administrator for the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Fund.

Riess: Who was the real mind behind the fund and what it should accomplish?

Jones: Larry was it. The director of the memorial fund was Beardsley Rum1. But Larry was the real energetic person with a wealth of ideas whom we knew best.

Riess: I wondered who he might have talked to, though, to sort of conceptualize what could be done in the field.

Jones: By the time I knew him, his ideas about child development were prolific.

Riess: Was there any attempt to put all of the people who were recipients of the money together, to talk, to confer?

Jones: No. I certainly met a number of them, because we were in classes together. One was Edna Bailey from here, who went back to New York City for a year on a fellowship. May Reynolds Sherwin, a Vassar graduate went back to teach at Vassar. We were close friends.

Riess: But you were all people who were working in child development.

Jones: Yes. I was in psychology; some of them were in nutrition and other fields too.

Riess: Was Larry Frank a particularly good administrator?

Jones: He was an extremely energetic person. He got everybody enthusiastic about things. He had a natural warmth. I remember once he came out here, and my girls had heard us talking about the fact that he was coming out, and would be deciding whether to give the Institute more money. I was putting the girls to bed--my bedrooms were downstairs--and Larry came down to say goodnight to them. Lesley must have said something to him about whether he was going to give us some money. He was quite amused, and he reassured her that it was going to be okay. [laughter]

Riess: Was he a contemporary?

Jones: He was about our age. He lived until maybe five years ago, I'd say. He lost two wives by death, and had a third wife when he died. I've met all of them.

Riess: Did you know the Stolzes in New York?

Jones: I knew Lois in New York, yes. She was then Lois Hayden Meek, a graduate student at Teachers College, Columbia.

Riess: Was that also instrumental in getting you out here?

Jones: No. It was due to Larry Frank entirely. Well, maybe Woodworth also, because I'm sure that when the job was offered he advised us to take it. He was interested. In fact, he was one of the people in the National Science Foundation who established a child development section. He was always interested, although he didn't work in the field. He's one of the people who is always thought of as developing and promoting child development.

Riess: Did that make a difference in validating it?

Jones: Yes, I would say so. Harold, for example--as you see, there weren't very many men in this field. If Woodworth thought this was the thing to do, I'm sure it influenced Harold. Of course, the heads of all these institutions were men. However, I think it was Anderson at Minnesota who said to Harold something to the effect that there were an

awful lot of women in this field.

A Home in Berkeley

- Riess: Was coming to California a hard thing, to leave the East and family?
- Jones: No, I think we were glad to. We had a pediatrician, of course, for our children, and we talked to him about what he thought of our moving to California. And he said, "Unless you have (I guess it was) \$10,000 a year, it's very hard to live in New York City." Well, we didn't have \$10,000 a year, and it was cheaper out here. And, you know, California sounded good. We were a little sorry to leave our families, and that sort of thing. But, no, we were happy about coming out. I remember Harold's mother had heard that it was very foggy out here. She wanted to make sure we had good, warm underwear for the children. [laughter]
- Riess: Over the years did you keep up relations with people in the East assiduously?
- Jones: We did, yes. Some of Harold's Amherst friends, my Vassar friends, Columbia associates visited and corresponded. But we realized that being in the West had some isolating features. We didn't go to as many meetings.
- Riess: Professionally isolating?
- Jones: Yes. Harold went to some, but probably not as many as though we'd been in the East. Now, Nancy Bayley, for example, who was here for many years, her husband took a position at Johns Hopkins and she went back to Washington, D.C. as chief of the Division of Child Development of the National Institute of Mental Health. She said she never was anybody until she got to Washington and met the right people. This isn't a direct quote, but she had the feeling that the East was the place to be if you wanted to be recognized.
- Riess: Particularly because she was a woman in the field?
- Jones: I think just in general.
- Riess: You were leaving your extended family. Do you feel that an extended family is a benefit to bringing up children?
- Jones: Really, you see, we were in New York; my family was in Pennsylvania; Harold's was in Connecticut. We hoped we could continue our visits back and forth. I'm sure they were terribly sorry to have us leave, more sorry than we were to be leaving.

Riess: When you came to Berkeley, what was your first community of really good friends.

Jones: I'd say some of our professional people, like Jean Macfarlane, Nancy Bayley, and Edgell and Herbert Stolz. Two families whom we knew because the women were parent education leaders, like myself: Margaret and Ralph Fisher, Josephine and Allen Blaisdell were friends. Allen was head of International House.

Riess: Were they also raising small children?

Jones: The Stolzes had a child, Rosemary, just about the age of our children. The Fishers had three, the Blaisdells two. Somewhere I was reading that the University during the depression carved back funds at the Institute. The Laura Spelman Rockefeller people weren't sure they wanted to contribute if the University wasn't going to hold up its end. Sproul was one of the people who was interested in keeping the Institute going. His son John went to the nursery school. So, fortunately, he was interested in our Institute.

Riess: How did you care for your children when you were working?

Jones: I had full-time help, which took care of the home aspects, domestic aspects. I can remember I got home--I never worked full-time, you know--and I'd be home, either pick the children up or be at home when they got here from school. I can remember one day Herbert Stolz came in, and I was sitting here reading to the children about three o'clock in the afternoon. He said he thought I was a good mother; a lot of mothers he knew would be out shopping, and I was making some effort to be with my children when I could.

Riess: A lot of psychologists are blind to their problems at home and excellent out in the field. I just wondered if there were ever any of those kinds of pitfalls in your life.

Jones: There probably were. I can remember my older girl said one time she hoped she didn't have to work when she grew up. She must have felt that my working wasn't exactly a pleasure to her.

Riess: In raising the children, were they left to you, or both of you?

Jones: I would say Harold was much more of a raising father than most fathers at that period. He'd put them to bed, and feed them, and read to them, and had all sorts of little games with them. Took them out a lot on walks.

Riess: Did the two of you experiment on your children?

Jones: Once I used Barbara for a learning experience, which required feeding her raisins as a reward. I can't remember anything, except this one

little experiment with Barbara.

[tape interruption] I think I left the impression that I had been somewhat disadvantaged by going to Vassar, where there were a lot of people with more status. I thought I should have added that I did have a couple of student committee appointments, and in one case I was in charge of an occupational conference. We had people come to speak about opportunities and professions that were available to women. I did do some things on a leadership level. And Vassar, a woman's college then, added measurably to my background and my self-esteem.

Riess: You felt that you left the impression that you were "poor Mary."

Jones: Yes, but I didn't do too badly.

Human Development Research

Landmark Project Marks Half Century

BERKELEY — Three hundred Californians are celebrating an unusual anniversary this year—a half century of sharing their lives with science.

From childhood to middle age, they have been observed, tested, measured, weighed, interviewed and made the subjects of both short and long-term studies.

The 300 are the original participants in a landmark research project at the University of California at Berkeley's Institute of Human Development. The UC research is the first to study systematically such a large number of people for as long as 50 years.

The work was begun in 1928 as a study of the normal stages of human growth and development. The UC Institute's associate director, Dorothy Eichorn, explains that the project was initiated in order to help

families and public agencies make informed decisions about raising children.

But as the participants matured and grew, so did the studies. "With time, the scope has grown to help adults of all ages make good social, vocational and personal adjustments," says Eichorn.

Some 500 research reports have been produced on topics as diverse as the development of ego, the effects of the depression years on children, marital happiness and patterns for job and health changes.

This year, the Institute and its participants are celebrating their unusual 50-year union with an anniversary lecture series and a new book on middle age.

The book, *Present and Past in Midlife*, is scheduled for publication in early 1979.

4. THE LONGITUDINAL STUDIES

[Interview 4: February 2, 1982]

Getting Started

Riess: We're talking about the longitudinal studies. When did that word first cross anybody's lips?

Jones: I think it must have been Larry Frank who was the executive secretary of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Fund. Certainly he agreed that we should be studying people over time.

Riess: Had it been done before?

Jones: Yes, [Lewis M.] Terman had a study of gifted children. I don't think he called it longitudinal and I don't think he knew, when he started, it was going to be as longitudinal as it was. It's still going on. Robert Sears was one of the subjects and then he became a director. Harold consulted Terman and Terman sent him graduate students, Harold Carter and Mildred Earley (later Conrad), to work at the Institute.

Riess: Larry Frank got the idea in talking with people like Harold or Stolz?

Jones: No, I think he had the idea before he came out here to set up the Institute.

Riess: I wondered whether the idea of longitudinal studies had evolved out of the work that was being done.

Jones: I would say it did. We needed research to tell us more about children. Then after we got going we realized we needed to watch the same people over time.

Riess: So there was a kind of newness to it.

Jones: Yes, I would say so.

Riess: When the nursery school was started, how did it fit into the whole proposal?

Jones: This was a national movement to begin studying and teaching children, before they got to public school age, before five. It was important to know what was happening to them in the earlier years. Then also, the Second World War brought the need for child care.

Riess: Looking at the Institute of Child Welfare bulletins, the first bulletin [Parents Bulletin No. 1] that came out was a description of the nursery school. The second bulletin, unlike the first one, which is all pictures of children and descriptions of when they have their juice and everything, the second one is a description of the studies that have begun and I wondered what happened between bulletin one and bulletin two. In other words, what was the process? You came out here and a nursery school somehow began, and then suddenly a whole lot of people were doing research.

Jones: Nancy Bayley was brought in to study children, their motor abilities, mental abilities, and their relationships, parent and child. The nursery school was an essential part of the research program. It took longer to get the other research projects going. Harold brought in Jean Macfarlane to start a study of normal children. As she says, she had been working with problem children, but what were normal, how many problems did normal children have, and why shouldn't we look at normal children? They've concentrated a good deal on interviewing the parents about their parent-child and family relationships. Actually Jean was instrumental in getting the Institute at Berkeley. She knew Larry Frank in the East, roomed with his sister-in-law Elizabeth Bryant in Boston, stayed with the Franks when she was in New York. I believe Larry's first contacts with the University were through Jean.

After we got going--I think I've told you this--Larry Frank said it's going to take too long to get to adolescents--let's start with a pre-adolescent group. So we started the Adolescent Growth Study, (now the Oakland Growth Study). We started with ten-year-olds. Our group, the Oakland Growth Study people are about eight years older than the Guidance and Berkeley Growth Study people.

Riess: It's interesting for you to say, "and Larry Frank told us that we should do this." Who makes these decisions and how, that's what I'm really trying to get at. In the studies that you're responsible for, did you decide the areas you wanted to work in?

Jones: Yes, one of the things I worked on first was the rate of maturing and how this affected people. Harold said, "Look, Nancy Bayley's doing x-rays of the wrists to get a skeletal age for these people, and you're observing them in school and in social situations and seeing what happens as they go through puberty. It would be interesting for you and Nancy to work together on this." So the first article that

came out on early and late maturing was Nancy's and mine.

Then I went on with that all the way through their growth until they were adults. Paul Mussen and I published several joint articles. My last article was based on my presidential address to Division 7 of the American Psychological Association. [The later careers of boys who were early- or late-maturing. Child Development, 1957, 28, 113-128.]

When we were planning our latest book, Present and Past in Middle Life, I wanted to write again on personality as related to early or late maturing, but the editors said, "There'll be other books, you can do it later. [Both laugh] Better do the one on drinking."

Riess: How often did you refer back to Larry Frank? When Harold, and Herbert Stolz, had new ideas for research or anything, did they check them out with Larry Frank?

Jones: Not necessarily, but he often came out with ideas. I'm sure you've heard this story. When Frank first came and talked to President Campbell, an astronomer, he wasn't sure he was interested in starting an institute. According to Jean Macfarlane, Frank said to Campbell, "All right, I'll go down to Stanford." That made the decision, because Cal wasn't going to let Stanford get the money. [laughter]

The Nursery School

Riess: You mentioned that there was that monthly meeting with parents and teachers.

Jones: I knew Herbert through that. It was through Herbert that I got the job. He wanted me to be a research associate and he's always been very supportive of me.

Riess: If it weren't for that fact, what would your role have been, do you think?

Jones: Well, you see, before we came Harold said, "I will consider it if there's going to be a job for Mary." [President William Wallace] Campbell came to our house in New York and talked to us. He said there would be a job, but all there was at first was just this parent education connection. That's all I did the first year. Then when the nursery school got settled, they brought in a head nursery school teacher, but I was doing quite a bit of research in the nursery school. It was Herbert who got me an appointment as research associate. When Harold died, Herbert said, "I think they should put you in as director"--which of course never happened. But I just wanted to tell

you that Herbert was always supportive of me.

Riess: In the first bulletin it stated that the aims of the nursery school were first of all, the welfare of children; secondly, a lab for the study of child development by experts; third, to collect information on child training for use in parent education; and fourth, to offer the University students an opportunity for directed observation.

That's been consistently the direction?

Jones: Yes. The research is quite extensive right now. Here, Fall of 1981 [reading off of a calendar/brochure], this indicates the people who are doing research in the Institute Nursery School. The departments involved were psychology, sociology, education, men's and women's physical education and the medical school.

Riess: What kind of people brought their children when they heard that there was a full day nursery school?

Jones: There were a lot of faculty, and I have said somewhere that the Sproul's younger son John was one of the children in an early group. My daughter was there. The secretary of the psychology department, Mrs. Tooley, had her little boy Bill there. Bill has become a physician, and he has been one of the physicians who has examined the study members as they come back for physicals.

Riess: A very close tie all the way around. So University people would have heard about this first, probably, anyway.

Jones: Yes, and there may have been notices in the paper. I would say they were people who were kind of in the upper strata, who were in parent education or that sort of thing. In other words it wasn't like the child care centers, where children were brought so that mothers could go to work.

Riess: Did that mean then that there was a high degree of parent involvement?

Jones: Yes, but this was not a cooperative nursery school. The parents didn't help in the nursery school, but there were meetings at least once a month. There were interviews with parents and that sort of thing.

Riess: I noticed, for instance, in the description of the LeConte home, where the nursery school was first housed, that parents could observe from cloisters. I was interested in whether the practice of observing your children was something that the parents did a lot of.

Jones: No, I don't remember that they did a great deal of observing, but they could if they wanted to.

Riess: Nursery schools are often the first place where parents really begin a kind of social life of their own, in some nursery school situations. I just wondered how this nursery school functioned in that way.

Jones: Well, probably not as much as in a cooperative nursery school for example.

Riess: What is this little conditioning thing of "hang up your coat, go to the potty and have a glass of water?"

Jones: Is this in the report?

Riess: Yes, they said that that's the day's routine. It was rather nice the way they presented it, but I wondered what school of thinking that was?

Jones: Actually the first thing they did was to be sure the children didn't have colds.

Well, I think this was just the way we started nursery schools in the East and it was a pattern that went across the country.

Riess: A year later, when the numerous projects were under way, who was actually administering the whole thing at that point? Was it Harold or was it Herbert?

Jones: Both. Harold got Nancy Bayley here and Herbert Conrad, for example.

Riess: Who did people go to, to talk about their work, for instance? I mean if Nancy wanted to talk to somebody about her work, about what kind of data she was getting, and confer with somebody.

Jones: It would depend upon what you talked about. Dr. Stolz was the physician, and if she'd wanted to talk about medical things, she would have gone to Herbert Stolz. I think if she wanted to talk about the measurement of abilities, she would have talked to Harold.

Riess: They were both there full time?

Jones: I don't know whether Herbert was there full time, I think he continued part-time with the State Department of Education. Harold was part-time teaching, in the psychology department.

Cooperating with Other Departments

Riess: I noticed also in the very early days there was a lot of interdepartmental stuff, cooperative studies with the Department of Hygiene, and

so on. Who would initiate that?

Jones: If it was in psychology, Harold would have been the person who made the association. If it was public health, it would have been Herbert. They worked together. I really am not quite sure how the administrative job was divided. But I would say it was partly on the basis of the disciplines. Herbert's book, that he and Lois wrote, is on physical development. [Somatic Development of Boys. New York: Macmillan, 1951.]

Riess: What I'm wondering is, were you adding research staff each time you worked with another department? Think of nutritional research, the Department of Household Science. Did Agnes Faye Morgan come and use the Institute as a place for her research?

Jones: Yes, and brought in students. Of course Catherine Landreth, director of the nursery school, came in through the Department of Home Economics. The Education Department wanted me to teach a course in nursery school education and Agnes Faye Morgan felt that Landreth's course was covering that, and that there shouldn't be another one. She had an influential part in the program.

Riess: There was such a web; you could hardly jettison the Institute because it had so many connections.

Jones: This is still very important. The new director, Ed Swanson, is particularly interested in involving departments, and the University feels that this is important.

Academic Appointments and Tenure

Jones: As I have often said, I'm sure, you can't get tenure through just an appointment at the Institute. You have to get your tenure through academic departments. So one of the great problems of our Institute is to keep people who aren't on the ladder in departments.

Nathan Shock, when he was brought here, taught in the Physiology Department. But I think there was a question of tenure. The same with Herbert Conrad; he taught in the Education Department. Both men went on to important positions with the federal government.

Riess: Do you think that the reason they didn't get tenure was because so much of their time was Institute-related that they couldn't do what was required in their department?

Jones: In my case I was offered a position in the Education Department only if I would take it full time. The dean implied that he wanted to be

sure my commitment was to the Department of Education. Now Harold Carter, on the other hand, who was doing work with us, got tenure in the Education Department and stayed. Apparently they needed someone with his background at the time. I couldn't get a teaching position until way into the '50s. I went in after Edna Bailey retired. They offered me a job, and I didn't want full time. They wouldn't take me until I would sign up for full time.

Twins, Fears, Colds, Birth order

Riess: Harold was involved with twin studies. Tell me about his twin studies.

Jones: I remember especially that he worked with Paul Wilson, who was a graduate student and who got his degree, I think, on a twin project. Harold Carter was also working on a twin project. Harold published with them on twin studies, but I think he directed or supervised rather than actually doing the data collection.

Riess: How did he begin?

Jones: Well, if they were people who came into the Institute, if they were twins who came in, he saw them. But a lot of these twins, of course, were not in the Institute then. Of course the difference between identical and fraternal twins was important. In fact my son-in-law, Kenneth Coates, who is a fraternal twin, was surveyed but they're not as interesting as identical twins, [laughter] only as comparisons.

Riess: People are still doing things with twins that have been separated at birth and brought up in various parts of the country.

Jones: I'm sure they were all familiar with the literature too, and there's quite a bit of literature on twins.

Riess: I see you continued to do studies of fear. You and Harold had published something on fear in CAL Monthly in 1930.

Jones: Yes, but that was based on research we did back East.

Riess: You did a study of colds.

Jones: Yes, with Herbert Conrad.

Riess: Do you remember anything about that data, because of course that's very interesting, I think.

Jones: The general conclusion was that especially because of the cyclical na-

ture of our data, colds were due to infection. We gave some recommendations--isolation, wash toys, etc.

Riess: That would have been observations in the nursery school?

Jones: Yes, that would be the nursery school and also in the Childrens' Community Nursery School, a cooperative in Berkeley.

Riess: I wonder if you can remember anything about this Chinese gentleman, Mr. Hsiao who studied birth order? He appeared to be trying to prove something about firstborn and I.Q.

Jones: Let me get you something. [gets scroll] This tells about him. He was a fellow of the China Foundation for the Promotion of Education and Culture, and his publication was "The Status of the Firstborn with Special Reference to Intelligence." Yes, he was a good friend of ours.

[Jones is talking from another part of the room, where she had been reading from the scroll, and then takes out something else.] I have another little thing he gave us. Isn't that lovely? He went back to China and he sent us these things after he got back and Harold was in touch with him. Then the revolution came along and we never heard from him again. We thought he'd been liquidated, but just last year there was a Chinese, Professor Ching, over here from Peking University. I met him at Paul Mussen's house and asked him if he knew anything about Hsiao. He said that Hsiao continued to live--he's dead now--and that he introduced Gestalt psychology into China. [laughter] This is the latest I've heard about Hsiao.

Riess: Of course it's wonderful to think he had all of this data in the late '20s, and that China now is rewarding people for only having one child, and they can always cite his studies at the Institute. Did anyone else work in that field?

Jones: Nancy Bayley was interested in birth order, and Jean Macfarlane has some data on birth order. His interest was more especially on intelligence, and there are also personality differences that have been reported. There is other data.

Riess: The very idea of coming with that bias of looking for a greater degree of intelligence.

Jones: I'm not sure that he came with the idea. It may have been that Harold suggested it, I don't know.

Interviewing

Riess: Some research at the Institute must have been more "scientific" than other. Was that important?

Jones: I think of Harold and Nathan Shock first as persons who concentrated on psycho-physiological studies.

Riess: Maybe the farthest away from Nathan Shock and Harold would be the people who did personal interviews.

Jones: Clinical interviews, yes, and observations. Of course some scientists think this is not scientific. There's always been this feeling about just observing people and asking them questions and so forth. Then the whole business of questionnaires--now we did a lot of that in the Oakland Growth Study, because they were all in the same school and we could get group tests in the classrooms. It was not done to anything like the same extent in the Guidance Study. They did get reputation measures. That is, they had pupils write down who was like this or that, rating each other in the classroom. For example: Here is someone who likes to talk a lot, always has something to say; or, someone whom everybody likes, others are glad to have him around. This was done for the Guidance Study and also for the Oakland Growth Study.

Now it also depends upon whether it's a psychologist or a sociologist, to some extent. John Clausen, sociologist, sends out questionnaires on smoking, occupation, etc. You'll see in this latest book John Clausen's chapter. He bases a good deal of the findings on questionnaires.

For this last program we send out questionnaires and get answers in addition to personal interviews. We try to limit the follow-up visit to a one-day program. Even that's a very heavy program, nine to five.

Riess: What's your own personal style when you're working, interviewing and note taking?

Jones: I can observe. I think I'm a pretty good observer, because I've had a lot of experience, watching children in groups and then describing behavior and rating them afterwards. I've used the results from questionnaires.

I was going to ask if you were interested in these findings from when they were young people, their attitudes toward various things--smoking, drinking, appearance, use of lipstick and so forth. I've written this up with examples of how they behave. I've written but not published one article called, "In the Eye of the Beholder", which has to do with their getting their first permanents and using lipstick

for the first time. This is tied in with a questionnaire that asked them about their attitudes toward these issues.

One important approach has been Jack Block's Q-sort. [Block, J. The Q-sort Method in Personality Assessment and Psychiatric Research. Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1961.] Clinicians read the voluminous background data and then rate these people on these hundred items on the Q-sort. That's the way it's used now. Jack doesn't have a chapter in the book, but a lot of people who worked with the Q-sort have referred to it, for example [Flo] Livson and [Harvey] Peskin's and my chapters.

Riess: When you first went into a situation and were taking notes and interviewing and so on, how did you figure a style? Was that something you learned in your seminars with Woodworth, or from your peers?

Jones: Now in the nursery school, Herbert Conrad was here, and he made out a rating scale to use in observing in the nursery school. We used the same sort of thing. Caroline Tryon was on our staff, she'd written a monograph on the adolescent peer group. She and Harold worked out a questionnaire and rating scale which we used during the school years.

Riess: What about room for your own very personal opinions about something, above and beyond?

Jones: After we rated, we wrote personal statements.

Riess: How is that accessible?

Jones: That's all part of what the clinicians read and rate. When we went on excursions with this group, the staff got together afterwards and we'd concentrate on one person. Each staff person would say what they had seen that person doing and that was all written down. That's all in the records, but unfortunately it has to be translated into ratings in order to be made into data.

That's one of the other things, you see: we have to be very careful about individual descriptions. In my chapter on drinking I have quoted, to some extent, from what people have said. I've been very careful to quote people who are dead, mostly. This is what you have to be very careful about.

We would love to do more case histories, I think they're the most important part of this program. But it's just practically impossible. In fact everybody who comes in now signs something, saying that his data can be used. But a person might say this year that it's all right to use this, and a year from now he might change his mind, and it could be a problem. We are talking now about the possibility of using some case material, and using the person himself to be a co-author. In other words, we would like to use some more personal and

individual material.

I think I mentioned that at the last reunion some of them felt that they would like to have more input. On our questionnaires we have asked: Is there anything special that you would like us to include in the interviews which are coming up? Some of them made suggestions of certain subjects that they'd like to discuss.

The "Lunch Study"

Riess: In a symposium in 1969 you included some of the subjects on stage, talking about themselves. How did that work and how did you decide which ones?

Jones: The man I chose is a pediatrician. I thought he was the kind of person who was identified with the study, who knew what it was about and would be able to present this in a talk. He's just been in for the follow-up, this man. (Maybe this is a diversion, but I have lunch with them [the sixty year old Growth Study members]). He's been in recently and he asks me questions about Harold, about Nathan Shock, Herbert Stolz, and Judith Chaffey. This is good stuff and I write it down, you see, afterwards. I write down what they've talked about and whom they've mentioned and how many of the other study members they've mentioned and how interested they are in what we're doing, and where they fit in.

Riess: So, you see whether they mention anyone, then which people are important to them.

Jones: Which people in the study they remember. Some of them remember a dozen or more and some don't remember more than one or two. This tells you a good deal about them, you see. Then I get to see them as couples. Now there's a chapter in the book on marriage, and one of the things the author Skolnick says is that they talk to these people separately. They don't observe couples together. Well, I only observe them during the noon hour, but I do get a little feeling of their relationship to each other as couples. I write this up and I hope this is going to add something.

For example, one couple who came in, he's retired--and this is true of many retired couples that I know who are not in the study--and she uses the telephone and he's at home all the time and it annoys him. And he told me this. "Now what are they going to do about it?" I said, "I know another couple who had this problem and they got separate phones." He said, "Well, we could get an extension, we could put an extension upstairs." [laughter] This kind of thing.

One husband also told me--I knew this--that Herbert Stolz had sent the men their nude pictures. Pictures were taken of the boys in the nude every six months in adolescence. They were sent copies of these pictures later in life. This man said to me, "I have never shown my wife these pictures of me in the nude." This tells you something, doesn't it?

Riess: Maybe you don't know what it tells you, but it tells you something.

Jones: At least I write it down. You see, I try to avoid anything that I think the interviewers are getting. They have two interviews during this day. One is called a structured interview, which talks about their jobs and their children. The other is a clinical interview, which is more personal. Then they have lots of tests. I try not to cover that sort of thing, mine's all spontaneous.

Riess: So yours is just taking care of the relational part of the whole study?

Jones: Public relations is what I hope I do. [laughs] I am now the one to give them their copy of the book. Some ask me to autograph them. Then I write a short note of appreciation to them.

Riess: I don't mean just, but--

Jones: Yes, but that's what I'm doing. But I think I do get a little data out of it. I must tell you I haven't written up, but I decided I should, which of the people embrace me, the men and the women. It's their pattern, it hasn't anything really to do with me, but some are very effusive and some just shake hands.

Riess: Do they call you Mary or Dr. Jones?

Jones: Some of them call me Mary and some of them call me "Doctor." I always say, "After all these years I'm 'Mary.'" But it isn't easy for some people, you know, to change and this is interesting.

Riess: If you're interviewing both halves of the couple--

Jones: I'm not interviewing, I'm just talking to them.

Riess: Just talking, okay. But one half you know from the study and the other half you know, from since when?

Jones: If they came to reunions. Also, I interviewed most of them in their homes in the early 1960s. They were interviewed, they're in this book. [laughter]

Sometimes the husbands and wives come in separately. They can't come at the same time. One woman came in--her husband had been in--

and I had a feeling that because she was only the wife she found it a little more difficult to talk intimately. I had a feeling that she was afraid of giving away maybe some things that he wouldn't have talked about. I just wonder how they feel about coming in as a spouse. Apparently having been associated with this study makes some of the study members feel very, very close to the thing and feel that what they're doing is very important, and they take it very seriously. They come in to work from nine to five. You know, it's a long hard day. I'd wondered how the spouses feel about it.

Riess: Have you pursued it with any of them?

Jones: Yes, and some of them complain about how long and hard it is. I'm only there during the noon hour. Once in a while, I happen to be there when they're leaving. I try not to be, because there's a schedule: somebody greets them, and at the end they sign something which says that this can be used, so I try to be away when this is going on. But once in a while I happen to be around when they're leaving or when they're waiting in the waiting room for something else to happen, and a couple of them have complained about how hard it's been. In fact they've had to cut the program down a little bit because it ran too late.

Riess: I guess maybe you haven't completely figured out yet why people keep coming back and back and back.

Jones: I mentioned this to Millie Almy who's in the Education Department and on the advisory council of the Institute. I said, "I don't know why they are willing to come back." She said she was associated with a study similar to this at Harvard for a while, the Stewart study. She said there was a woman who was in an auto accident about a hundred miles away from Cambridge and she phoned back to Dr. Stewart to ask for a good physician in the town where she'd been injured. Millie said there's something about these studies that people feel is important, and their associations with the staff are really of value.

Riess: Would you go even further to say something about how people like more organization in their life?

Jones: Yes, they like to talk about their problems and their attitudes. It gives them a chance.

Helping the Study Members

Riess: Compared to the general population, people who would be sixty years old today wouldn't be among the most psychologically enlightened, would they?

Jones: No, it wasn't the thing then, the way it is now, to belong to EST or--[laughs]

Riess: But now, do you think compared to the general population, your sixty-year-olds are fairly hip about themselves and these psychological processes, and about what's being looked for?

Jones: It depends pretty much upon their individual experience. People who have had problems tend to be more hip, because they've had to do something about it.

Riess: Maybe your people have been able to go out and seek help more effectively.

Jones: They have, some of them. This is one of the things we know about them, which ones have sought help.

Riess: As a long term positive effect, you reared a population of people who know how to seek help?

Jones: I'm amazed at some people, who even at this stage don't face themselves, don't know how to talk about themselves, and others who just let it flow out. Of course, there is everything in between.

Riess: In that noon hour, how free do you feel to facilitate that talking it out, for those who seem to have difficulty?

Jones: I try not to interfere with what the clinician is doing, the interviewers. But I think we often get to some problems, and individual problems. I'm especially interested in their relationships to their parents who are still living and those who put their parents in nursing homes, and their attitude about this. You know, there's a three generation, in fact a four generation, in some cases, spread. I'm not only interested in what their youngsters are doing, but also what they're doing with their parents and their attitudes toward them.

Riess: You knew those parents too.

Jones: Sure. There aren't many of them left, but I know them.

Riess: It sounds fascinating to be an observer.

Jones: Oh, yes. I feel like I couldn't have had a better life [laughs] in regard to my job.

Riess: I was going to ask you, what was the most satisfying thing in your life?

Jones: My family came first, but the job certainly has been very important. I never thought too much about having a career, it just kind of hap-

pened, and it's been just wonderful. The same about annuity, it's wonderful to have. I mean when I was working I didn't think this was going to add up to money in my old age, but it has.

Riess: That is reassuring.

Jones: Yes. [laughs] In addition, I get an annuity as a widow. I'm not wealthy, but I'm not worried about money. But I didn't think much about this when we were working, that wasn't why I was working at all. As I say, I wouldn't work full time until it seemed a good thing to do.

Riess: What parts of it were drudgery in the work?

Jones: I guess, writing it up. The actual contacts were fun, but I would say that writing stuff up is work, I don't enjoy writing.

Riess: Have you thought about how the whole thing has affected you?

Jones: I think I know a lot of people, and a lot of kinds of people, that I never would have known otherwise. I think it gives me a better, I hope, a better understanding of mankind. Even though our group was white and predominantly middle class.

Riess: If you saw in the study somebody who was really in trouble, what did you do?

Jones: Judy Chaffey was the person, she was their counselor. I would say that we usually turned over problems that we knew about to her.

There was a woman in last week who used to think that she was not very bright, and she would express this as a "dumb thing like me." She didn't tell me but she told the interviewer this time, that she had dyslexia, which is not being able to see words properly, and that she didn't discover this until ten years ago. Now, whether we should have discovered this, or whether anybody could have discovered it way back then, I don't know. But this we feel badly about, that we weren't helpful. She didn't tell it to me, so I wasn't able to find out, but probably the interviewer found out how she discovered it and if it really is true and so forth.

What I do when I prepare for seeing them--I have somebody today at 11:45, a couple--we've had these newsletters prepared for each reunion, and I go over those and refresh my mind on what they did during the war and so forth. Then I get out pictures of them from childhood and from the reunions if they came and then I show them these. Sometimes they'll say, "Oh, I never saw that picture before. I wish I had that one." Then I'll get them a copy. Those who have had divorces, or children who have had problems, I have to be careful what I say, but at least I know something about their background, when I meet

with them.

Riess: So, that's something about the emotional involvement. I guess these people really aren't "cases" for you at all. What I was thinking is that sometimes you might be unable to act in whatever your appropriate role was. Not that you couldn't figure out what to do with the person's problems, but that you realized that you were acting more like somebody's mother than somebody's observer. Within the Institute was there some sort of system for helping you sort that out, or deal with that?

Jones: In the case of the people in the Oakland Growth Study, we saw them almost every day and I think we acted like mothers, whether we should have or not. That's been a big question: what has being in this study done to these people. For example, they had intelligence tests after intelligence tests--does the practice effect show? In general, apparently, it doesn't. [Present and Past, p. 144]. But that is a question: how much should you change their lives when you're studying them?

Riess: Was that a question that you addressed at the time, systematically?

Jones: No, I don't think we did. I think we were human beings, we couldn't. I think we hoped that we had done something useful. Judith Chaffey, when she was counseling, was very helpful. There were young boys who had no idea they could go to college, they couldn't afford it. She found out how to get them scholarships, jobs or something. Harold and I infrequently gave garden jobs to boys.

I don't think you can be standoffish in a situation like that.

According to this [book] it hasn't made any difference in their intelligence, their ability to answer questions on tests. Jean Macfarlane has a group who had been interviewed and a group who had not been interviewed.

Riess: I am interested in the degree of sophistication of the Institute in those early days, whether you got together routinely as a group and discussed these questions. How concerned would you say the staff at the Institute was?

Jones: About what effect we were having?

Riess: Yes.

Jones: I don't think we got together as a staff and talked about it. I think we all knew that we were responding in a human way. A lot of people had called Jean Macfarlane up and talked about problems when they weren't scheduled. I think in the case of the Oakland Growth Study they mostly went to Judy Chaffey as children, because she was their

counselor all the way through. Sometimes they'd come to me.

A Talk at Holy Names

Jones: [added later] Since our last interview, I have been involved in several projects which might add to our previous discussion about persons and the Institute history.

Deana Logan, the young educator who wrote my sketch for Psychology of Women Quarterly asked me to speak at Holy Names College about the Institute. She also asked Florine Livson to talk at the same session of her current research at the Institute. Flo's chapter in our book, "Gender Identity: A Life Span Study of Sex Role Development and Personality", indicates her interests.

I started my talk by saying that I was going to be "personally historical" but that Flo was a NOW person who could bring the audience up to date about our recent research, using current theories, the latest statistical methods, modern thought.

As you know, Florine Livson was murdered not long after the occasion of our joint presentation. I met her mother at the services and have been in touch with her since by correspondence. Flo had become a key person on the Institute staff and would have had a major role in our present follow-up. Her death is a real loss.

In my talk I went back in some detail to the history of child care and child development. I mentioned that the nursery school may be thought to have its origin in England and quoted Robert Owen, born in 1771 and manager of cotton spinning mills in New Lenark, England, whose point of view brought children out of the dark of the gloomy and harsh religious and economic practices of the times: "Children are not born bad for it is through the education or the influences of circumstances that man becomes good or bad, inferior or superior." His factory provided childcare.

Economists of that period felt that family affection was desirable for the well-to-do but inappropriate for those in poverty because the poor children, if treated well at home, resisted being apprenticed at an early age and were less docile as workers.

In this country, the poor health and mental condition of many draftees in World War I had been thought to trigger the awakening concern about the condition of the nation's children.

The Rockefeller Foundation, the private philanthropy attuned to the sentiment of the times, provided much of the where-with-all to

tackle the problem. First, parents were to learn how to maximize their childrens' potentials. The Child Study Association of America was founded. Parents' Magazine was the organ which provided guidance with a monthly study program. This was widely used all over the country, including groups sponsored by our Institute as I have said earlier. Such topics as Why Children Quarrel, Why Children Fail in School, Guiding the Adolescent in a Changing World, were examined. It was believed we could correct almost all the ills of humanity if we started early enough.

But what did we know about the science of child rearing? Research was needed. This was when the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Foundation offered the Fellowships such as I had 1925-1927 for the interdisciplinary study of children and when Institutes such as ours were established.

Initiating the Project

Jones: In that talk at Holy Names I have tried to bring alive the warm feeling which many of the study members have toward the project. I went back to the 1930's when the OGS project was initiated.

Parents received letters written by Herbert Stolz and signed by the school principal promoting the idea of the study. The letter was followed by a home visit from the person (Judy Chaffey) who was to be the student counselor for all of their school life. For the children themselves, life in the 5th and 6th grade classrooms of five Oakland elementary schools took on an unexpected turn one rainy day in the month of January 1931.

Many hands went up when a visitor (me) asked if they would like to be in a study to help us find out more about how children grow. They would be driven up to the University with a small group of friends twice a year to be measured and studied. Of course parents would have to give their consent. One paragraph of the letter sent to the parents was especially subject to individual interpretation.

It read, "It is planned to follow the physical and psychological development of these children for at least five years during the period of rapid change which usually commences in the fifth or sixth grade and continues through Junior High School and into Senior High School."

Some parents were alarmed that there would be sex education-- "that you will tell them what they are too young to know." Others hoped that the study would "enlighten the children about sex because they themselves did not know what to say and there was so much dirty

talk around school."

Some fathers, especially, were apprehensive about the psychological aspects. "I am willing to have Lex in the study if it is to observe development and not to tamper with it."

"I don't want Ethel experimented with, possibly psychoanalyzed."

"Can Dora have her teeth straightened?"

"Can you help us with Ted? He's so willful."

"Nick stutters."

Most parents liked their children just as they were and expected the University to enjoy knowing them.

Finally the group was together in Junior High School. A clubhouse was set up in a house next door to the school. It was during the depression years, so in addition to the University staff the Federal Works Progress Administration furnished personnel to sponsor athletics, dramatic productions, art lessons.

The Clubhouse

Jones: Study members and their friends frequented the clubhouse during the lunch hour, after school, Saturdays. For many, it was the boy-meets-girl stage and it needed practice. This was when boys and girls deserted the school playgrounds where they were accustomed to playing vigorously in like-sexed games for the clubhouse, for games like ping-pong, cards, darts, badminton, in which boys and girls could compete on equal terms and in mixed groups.

Dancing was the favorite activity. Since dancing had to be learned, there was concern over mastering the steps, adjusting to the partners' steps, to the rhythm set by the music, the manner of asking a partner to dance. It could be like this: "Phoebe, can I ask you to dance with these shoes I've got on?" "Sure, Dick, my oxfords have rubber soles like your tennis shoes." Or it could be with a popular sobriquet: "Dance with me horse-collar?" "Yowsa." Since girls were more interested and also more adept, it was quite usual for girls to dance with other girls. Likewise boys who were still unskilled or too bashful to ask girls to dance frequently danced with other boys. Some boys sought adults and especially the young adult staff members, usually college students, as partners while they learned.

The boys and girls themselves had the idea of using the clubhouse

on weekends to "throw a party." The idea was to reserve the clubhouse for an evening so that small groups could have a party hostessed by one or several of their members and the guests to be of their choosing. Staff members were to substitute for parents as chaperones. The clubhouse was soon booked up months ahead by various groups in turn for Friday and Saturday evenings.

The first clubhouse party was a costume party. Six girls were hostesses. They came in after school to decorate with festoons of paper ribbons and balloons. They were back again at 7:00 with refreshments. Pat had forgotten to bring the sugar. Miss Chaffey took her home in her car to get it. The guests began to arrive at 7:30. There was no dance music on the radio at this hour and besides the boys preferred to listen to "One Man's Family."

Sue finally decided that to get things going they would judge the costumes. The girls stood up one at a time and the boys clapped. They clapped loudest for Jean and Nancy. Jean wore a very short band mascot's military costume which she had thought might be considered too naked. Sue gave the prize to Nancy's exquisite old-fashioned, handmade wedding dress. The girls clapped loudest for Frank's costume, a Spanish outfit with a big sombrero.

Sue and Helen had selected the prizes. The girl's was a miniature cake of Life Buoy soap and the boy's (which came in a large package) turned out to be a tiny black toy toilet. The look of several faces suggested that the prizes had not been wisely chosen. Pat commented with disgust: "My heavens what a prize." Sue said later, "I guess those prizes were not so good but I had lots of Life Buoy samples and Helen had the little toilet."

After this they began to dance. Several girls were noticeably not chosen as partners. These "wallflowers" sometimes danced with each other. Sadie finally asked boys to dance with her. When Rose was not asked to dance, she resorted to going upstairs to fix her hair and powder her nose. After the dancing and the choosing of the best dancers they had refreshments. It again fell to Sue to keep the boys out of the kitchen and to see that all the guests got their punch (made out of a prepared powder) and cake.

Then they played "wink." The lights had been dim for the dancing, but for this game they all crowded into one room and turned on all the lights. The chairs were placed in a circle, the girls sitting, the boys standing behind them. The adults were invited to sit on the couch to watch the proceedings. Early in the game Jane asked, "Does the person get kissed when she gets away or when she does not get away?" When the rest of the group yelled, "Both," she queried, "Then what is the use of the game?"

With the exception of Sam, the new boy at school, the kissing was

a very gentle peck on the cheek. They soon tired of the game and were dancing by candle light, as the parents began calling for their children. All the girls were called for by their parents except two sisters who were escorted home by one of the boys, and Joan whose brother took her home.

The Excursions

Jones: For senior high school, excursions were planned to provide situations in which unstaged behavior could be observed among our representative sample of young people. The clubhouse had afforded such an opportunity for the junior high school age, but with the group's increased mobility, the effects of cliques fostered by high school invitational social clubs and the widening scope of interests, a clubhouse seemed too circumscribed.

Provisions for activities in group excursions away from the familiar school environment seemed to meet the requirements.

Eleven such events occurred during the senior high school years: a boat trip around the bay, two ice skating parties, an overnight snow trip, a roller skating party, several three day camping trips, a day at the Fairview Country Club, a graduation party at the U.C. Men's Gym, complete with orchestra, swimming, sports facilities. A night on the train, evenings around the campfire, provides a lively but too lengthy narrative for this occasion.

The staff, usually at least six people (including a nurse and a physical ed director) got together after the event to report what they had seen, concentrating on the behavior of individuals. One of the staff compiled what she called, in quotes, "Culture Notes." What could we conclude or surmise? Under Values for example, virility in boys, daring stunts, dirty words; femininity for girls--Lila changes from clowning to passivity, good looks, easy to talk to.

After high school there have been reunions and newsletters such as high school and college graduates prepare to accompany class reunions. The third newsletter in 1944 commented: "It is more than five years after. To reach you these letters will travel to the four corners of the earth." It was World War II and our group were in the middle of it.

Reunions have served to renew friendships among participants and cement relationships with staff as this letter indicates:

Dear Mary:

Just wanted to tell you again how much we enjoyed the reunion. I'm so glad our children had the opportunity to meet some of the people we study members have talked about all these years. As I've said before, those associations and memories have been very important to my life and I feel privileged to have been a part of the study.

Thanks again for a delightful time.

Best wishes from the family,

Sally

Last year a discussion group supplemented fraternization. The person who emerged as leader of the session had written in ahead of time for the newsletter: "We are thinking about but not acting upon what we want to do from now on, and where. I do believe it would be interesting to talk with 'old' study members and perhaps get some new ideas." This woman's orientation set the tone for the discussion.

One man submitted several pages from a text by Roszak as a possible point of departure. A certain ambivalence toward the study is sensed in the excerpt which begins: "As soon as the observer claims to be aware of nothing more than the behavioral surface of the observed, an invidious hierarchy is established which reduces the observed to a lower status."

The discussion which highlighted the reunion for some members suggested the formation of a cooperative committee of the observers and the "observed" to insure that future programs will involve study members in the planning and thereby acknowledge their equal status in the research endeavor.

Some of the study procedures have, in themselves, won us friends, as this letter testifies:

Gentlemen and Ladies:

I don't know if the group of which I am a part, ever responded to you before. We had a visit Monday from Cal, four of your people gave my wife, two sons and myself a couple of tests and an enjoyable evening.

Left for me to read were two articles written this year. I have since read these and understand a little more of what's been done with our answers.

For the information of your study group the following is as true as I can phrase the situation.

We were envied by many as being in a special group. (While we were just coming out of a bad financial time, The Great Depression, we received a free health exam twice a year, also envied by many).

As time has passed I have discussed my part in all of this with friends. Usually the reaction was that they wondered how I was so lucky as to be involved in such an endeavor. [I have been proud to be a part. My part hasn't been much even if I did answer most questions asked of me. Of course we did pull a few problems on Miss Chaffey, our counselor, and on our pair of Joneses (Harold and Mary). I think they took it in their stride.]

So to all of you, thanks again from all of us. And if you need more subjects, remember my family is now covering a four generation spread.

Thanks.

[end of separate Jones addition]

ICW Staff

Riess: You talked about Jean Macfarlane's being a clinician setting her apart. What was the prevailing attitude towards the clinical and therapy aspect of psychology in the Institute?

Jones: I think we all felt that was part of the picture. Now I'm thinking of one person who combined procedures, and that was Nancy Bayley. She did the x-rays, which was a specific laboratory procedure. She also did the mental tests, and in fact she standardized a test that's used quite generally. But she also talked to parents. She was a good example of a person who was both technical and clinical. I mentioned Nathan Shock as a person who was almost entirely technical.

Riess: Did any of them have a part-time private practice?

Jones: Not at that time. Of course, Erik Erikson did.

1937

Riess: Did people write from other universities and say they would like to come and do their own study using the data?

Jones: Yes, this came, I would say, quite a bit later. Joe Kuypers who is a sociologist and interested in the gerontological data. I think this was true of Henry Maas, who was in social welfare. I'd say there's much more of that now that there is data collected and people are knowing about it. There are more people coming in with their own research interests.

Riess: I looked at the bulletin from 1938--

Jones: I should have brought you one that just came out last week, for 1981.

Riess: Well, we historians haven't even begun to consider 1981. [laughter]
The Oakland Growth Study staff was Harold, Ph.D. and Herbert, M.D.,
who at that point was the assistant superintendent of Oakland schools.
Then an L. M. Bayer, Dr. Bayer from San Francisco, Dr. H.B. Pryor from
Stanford.

Jones: They were physicians.

Riess: Ruth Harmon, another doctor.

Jones: She was a physician.

Riess: H.E. Roe and F.E. Sawyer, M.D.'s.

Jones: They did physical measurements. Some were kind of assistants to Her-
bert Stolz for the physical exams. Leona Bayer has continued on the
staff and has used the data in articles and reports. Dr. Pryor wrote
one or two articles. Bayer is co-author of a chapter in the book on
some of the physical data.

Riess: Then Nancy Bayley Reid. Though she and you all had your Ph.D.'s, you
were called research associates.

Jones: Yes, she did the x-rays on the OGS group. I've mentioned her own
Berkeley Growth Study group.

Riess: W. Jaffray Cameron, Ph.D.?

Jones: He observed the Adolescent Study members and he'd written some arti-
cles. He died young.

Riess: H.D. Carter?

Jones: That's Harold Carter. He had mostly vocational interests. He wrote
on that subject.

Riess: Judy Chaffey is identified as "field worker," did she not have a doc-
torate?

Jones: No, she may have had an M.A.

Riess: How did she come on to the staff?

Jones: She was a teacher and counselor in the Oakland schools. She taught
French principally. She went back to Washington, D.C. and worked and
studied at St. Elizabeth's Hospital. When we were looking for a coun-

selor from the schools, they said, "Well, here's Judy Chaffey who has been a counselor and a French teacher and who's gone back East to get some additional training." So she sounded good.

Riess: H.S. Conrad?

Jones: He's the one who worked primarily in--well, he developed a rating scale for the nursery school and I can't remember exactly what he did for the adolescent study, probably worked on the rating scale that Caroline Tryon finally developed. He was very accomplished and helpful with statistical problems and editing manuscripts. He edited a book of Harold's writings and addresses. This was his memorial contribution to Harold [Conrad, Herbert S., (Ed.). Studies in Human Development. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1966]. He left here and went back to Princeton, College Entrance Examination Board, and finally as education research and program specialist, U.S. Office of Education in Washington, D.C.

Riess: Anna Espenschade?

Jones: She was a physical ed teacher here and she did her Ph.D. thesis on the physical and motor development of our youngsters. She had special tests that she used in the playyard and that sort of thing.

Riess: Nathan Shock, Ph.D. Somehow I thought because of all of the physiological stuff, that he might have been an M.D.

Jones: No, he got his Ph.D. in psychology actually, but he was a physiological psychologist. When he retired in 1976 he was scientific director, National Institute on Aging, National Institute of Health.

Riess: And Caroline Tryon. She's married to a psychologist?

Jones: She was married to Robert Tryon at one time. They were divorced and he remarried. She died rather young, I guess in her sixties.

Riess: In that year also, there were two people visiting, one from Stanford and one from Rutgers, Rex Bell and D.A. Prescott.

Jones: Prescott was out here for a year. He was interested in our data and what we were doing and he was especially interested in parent education.

Riess: Margaret Schevill. She met Larry Frank at some point apparently?

Jones: Now she's made an interesting contribution. I don't know how much of this you want. [see following chapter]

Riess: Elizabeth Searle, another research assistant.

Jones: I don't remember her.

Riess: You were really in the throes of it in 1937. That group would have been probably about seniors in high school by then, wouldn't they?

Jones: Yes, just about.

Riess: Frances Burke?

Jones: She wrote a monograph on the social development of the group.

Riess: Helen Campbell?

Jones: She was a social worker who interviewed the Guidance Study people.

Riess: I was interested that there were W.P.A. funds that year. Now how did that happen? Who put that together?

Jones: Well, Harold had a lot of them around--you know that was before calculators were so ubiquitous, and they were doing a kind of data analysis that you would do by calculating now. We had a lot of those people around with pencils and paper. [laughter] They were supervised by our staff members.

Riess: They weren't doing art projects?

Jones: Well yes, that was another group. And we had athletic directors and drama people from W.P.A.

Riess: I think that's very resourceful. Did Harold think of doing that?

Jones: Yes. I remember we had a sculptor who did a fountain for us, in the old building when it was the Institute of Child Welfare, in the back yard. I don't know what happened to that. But these were all W.P.A. people.

Riess: Harold put together a proposal and sent it to a local W.P.A. supervisor?

Jones: I guess so. They'd send him people to interview.

Riess: Before you had the W.P.A. people, who worked on data?

Jones: We employed people. Herbert Conrad and Harold Carter were very good at supervising. Sometimes we got graduate students to work for a time on projects of that sort.

Erik Erikson

Riess: I had asked the question about the clinical training and whether there were people who were part-time clinicians, and you mentioned Erik. I would like to know what effect Erikson did have.

Jones: I can't say right off when he appeared. I think in the 1940's.

Riess: You said [see following chapter], "His psychoanalytically-oriented case interpretations have enriched a number of staff seminars and benefited the participants." I'd like to hear more about that.

Jones: I think I meant benefited the participants in the discussions, not the study members, but the staff. I would say that we had always been hospitable toward the psychoanalytic point of view, but that we hadn't had anybody who was straight, dynamic psychology, in the sense that Erik was. So I think that his way of looking at parent-child relationships and personality and so forth was beneficial and enriching to us.

Riess: He was working with the Guidance Study essentially?

Jones: Yes, because they had more interview data on the parents than the OGS or BGS. Also, they started at an earlier age with the children than the OGS. Now he's back with a grant of his own and they, Joan and Erik, come in three or four days every two weeks. They live in Marin County and so they come over and stay at the Men's Faculty Club. They have a woman working with them, who is a social worker. He is interviewing the parents of the study members who are now, of course, in their seventies, and he's interested in this stage, the generativity stage.

Riess: I have a chart of Erikson's stages here. Generativity versus Self-absorption, but then the last stage is Integrity versus Despair.

Jones: Maybe that's it.

The Dinner Group

Jones: You say you're interested in who gets together for meals. [referring to earlier conversation] Nevitt Sanford retired from the Wright Institute, which he established, but he goes back and gives a course in the history of psychology. Every once in a while he asks me to come back and talk to his class. His wife Christine got a group together for dinner once a month--each person takes something and we meet at one of the houses. The hostess has the main course and then we get together

at the end of each meeting and decide who's going to bring what to the next one. She chose the people, and they are all widows except Christine and her husband.

Peggy Hayes, who's written a book about the Calder family, she's in the group. I don't know if you want to know who else.

Riess: Yes, I do.

Jones: Well, the Eriksons have joined the group.

Riess: Who else is in the group?

Jones: Katherine Caldwell, who taught art at Mills and whose husband taught here. Margaret Rowell.

Riess: The cellist.

Jones: She's an interesting person. The San Francisco Conservatory of Music celebrated her eightieth birthday. An orchestra of 80 cellists gave a concert. It was marvelous. Elizabeth Elkus--her husband was in the music department. Let's see, is that it? They called it The Group, because Nevitt at one time taught at Vassar, you know, and Mary McCarthy wrote The Group. [laughter] I didn't mention it, but Nevitt left here because he didn't sign the oath, and he went back to Vassar.

Riess: In The Group what do you talk about?

Jones: That's interesting, because once in a while somebody tries to get a little advice from Nevitt or Erik. They're very silent. One of the people, the last time, she was talking about her dreams, and I thought, let's see what these dream experts are going to say. They didn't say anything, except Nevitt said, "Well, what was your dream?" She told the dream, but nobody interpreted it.

Riess: There is this taboo about shop talk?

Jones: Yes. They just don't talk in terms of shop. [laughter] We talk about different things different times, but this last time Nevitt got the idea of having everybody tell where they came from. I was able to tell about the Johnstown flood.

Riess: So it does take a certain order?

Jones: Sometimes.

Riess: What about the fact that there was only one man and all those women?

Jones: Because it was Christine's idea and these were friends of hers. I don't know how she happened to include me. She's always been in-

terested in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. I guess Katherine Caldwell was in that. She met these people in different ways and liked them apparently and thought we'd go together. It was her idea.

Riess: That makes two very interesting groups that you're part of. You're also part of a group in San Francisco.

Jones: Yes, except I can't go anymore because I lunch here maybe six days a week, every weekday and sometimes Saturday and Sunday, with a study couple.

Riess: But that will pass.

Jones: Yes, it will pass, but not for months. I haven't been over this whole month.

Riess: They're both groups that include very impressive older women. Do they take on something of the same coloring in terms of what comes up as issues to talk about.

Jones: This is definitely what the program is about in San Francisco, I mean to get together and talk. Have I shown you any of the poems or the pictures of one of the women in that group? She is Forgie Arnstein, wife of Lawrence Arnstein. Their oral history is in The Bancroft Library.

Riess: You did show me one of the poems. So you're saying that that's a group that just gets together for the purpose of talking for the sake of the members.

Jones: They don't call themselves therapeutic, but it has somewhat that effect, I would say.

Riess: Do they turn to you as a psychologist?

Jones: Me, oh no. The person who started this is a social worker, Marge Lozoff. She's quite a lot younger, but she's had Meniere's disease, which is an inner ear infection, and she was quite ill for a while. Now she's still a little unstable in walking and so forth. She was concerned about getting old and so she got a group of older people together. She says she's learning now how to grow old through us. I hope usefully.

Riess: But that wouldn't be the case with the other group.

Jones: Oh no. I don't know just what Christine had in mind, maybe to keep Nevitt busy after he retired. [laughter]

Riess: One more question. We were talking about Erikson's psychoanalytic



Clockwise from left:

Mary Cover Jones, 1949.

Harold E. Jones, 1957.

Sitting: Judy Chaffey, Francis Newman,
Mary Jones; *standing:* Herbert Stolz
and Harold Jones. Ca. 1957.



orientation in case presentations to the staff. He was presenting the Guidance Study material, but did that alter your questionnaire patterns or anything in your Adolescent Study?

Jones: I'm sure he'd look for more in terms of boy-girl relationships, parent-child relationships, in terms of what happened when they were young children, which would be the emphasis in a psychoanalytic point of view.

Riess: Elsa Frenkel-Brunswik was a staff person at some point?

Jones: Yes. She didn't interview people, but she used the data. And you asked about adding questions [reflecting the interest of particular people working with the data]. I described the Guess Who in the reputation measure, where they rated each other in school. I remember we added some questions that Elsa would be interested in, this kind of thing.

More on the Individual Staff Members

Jones: [added later] Earlier you asked a question which I haven't addressed specifically. How did we influence each other at the Institute? Who worked with whom, who influenced whom?

We influenced each other as any group of people do: by listening, questioning, supporting, criticizing, cooperating. Our objective was to contribute to an understanding of the "whole" individual, a biological organism in a cultural setting: first the infant, then the child, then the adolescent, now the adult. This required an interdisciplinary staff with different theoretical orientations, different techniques for collecting and processing data, for reporting and evaluating findings.

The interesting fact is that people with such varied backgrounds were able to function together as well as we did in order to keep the multidisciplinary research projects productive over so many years. Likewise, the fact that so many people, representing so many areas, could appeal to our study members, keeping them willing and even enthusiastic about returning for assessment is noteworthy.

When submitting requests for funding, or in progress reports, it was anticipated that the question of staff interrelatedness would arise. In one of Harold's last proposals for a Research Division on Aging at U.C. involving cooperating departments he faced this issue of "competition in programs" and suggested that, in his experience, terms such as "coexisting efforts," "interstimulation," and "productive competition" would describe the research efforts of a multidisciplinary

staff.

We need to consider individuals to illustrate:

Herbert Stolz

Jones: Herbert Stolz, the first director of the Institute, was an M.D. He had been chief of the Bureau of Child Study and Parent Education of the State Department of Education. He continued a small part of his time in this capacity when he took over the directorship.

In the early days of the Institute, Stolz was in charge of a monthly article in the Parent-Teacher Magazine which presented a problem for study. Study groups of parents were invited to send in summaries of their discussion and these were published in the magazine along with Stolz's recommendations for handling the situation.

For example: Esther smokes cigarettes. She is 16, a junior in a city high school, vivacious, wholesome, popular. Both parents are shocked. Esther does not feel guilty. This problem (much abbreviated by me) is presented with these questions:

1. If you wanted to persuade Esther to postpone smoking until she has graduated from high school, what argument would you advance?
2. Why is smoking more common among high school girls than it used to be?

Herbert was a popular public speaker and public figure. He was director until 1935. He continued in charge of the medical program for all three longitudinal studies. He not only measured and examined the boys in the Adolescent Growth Study, but picked them up at school, drove them to the University for this twice yearly program. Larry Frank has been quoted as saying that the best thing to come out of the Adolescent Study was the book by Herbert and Lois Stolz, The Somatic Development of Adolescent Boys.

In 1935 Stolz accepted an assignment with the Oakland School Department as deputy superintendent of education in charge of special schools and services.

Nancy Bayley

Jones: The first research program to get underway at the Institute was the

Berkeley Growth Study with Nancy Bayley. Harold brought her here in the Fall of 1928 from the University of Wyoming where she had been teaching in the Psychology Department. She had had experience in mental testing, had had an article published in the Pedagogical Seminary and Journal of Genetic Psychology: A Study of Fear by means of the Galvanometer Technique, and was interested in the "processes of development of the human organism" (Senn). [from interview by Milton Senn, in the Bancroft Library] [The reference I found for this study was: Psychological Monographs, 1928, 38, (4 Whole No. 17 (6)). M.C. Jones]

Nancy never had an academic appointment here. She wasn't interested in teaching. However she found that on this campus at that time, only members of the academic teaching staff could apply for grants. When funds were needed, Harold had to apply for grants for her research after the original funds had expired.

As I mentioned earlier, Nancy has said that she always felt like a minor cog in the wheel at U.C. though she was recognized as an authority with status later when she left the Institute and went to Washington, D.C. as chief of the Division of Child Development of the National Institute of Mental Health. Nancy's husband John Reid accepted an appointment at Johns Hopkins Medical School so Nancy joined him in the east. She later returned to the Institute. Nancy and John are now retired and living in Carmel.

Nancy not only received the G. Stanley Hall Award of the Developmental Psychology section of the American Psychological Association as did Lois Stolz, Jean Macfarlane and myself, but she also earned the Distinguished Scientific Contribution Award of the American Psychological Association. Her First Year Mental Scale is widely used.

Dorothy Eichorn

Jones: Dorothy Eichorn was well equipped to assume responsibilities for the Berkeley Growth Study after Nancy Bayley. Her psychological training was integrated with a biological slant. I remember the day when Harold first interviewed her.

She had come to California from New England because her husband had taken a position at Napa State Hospital as a minister and counselor. She would be commuting from Napa. Harold introduced us and later expressed his concern to me. Was it practical to expect someone to commute to work from Napa? Doty has been doing it now very successfully for thirty years.

Dorothy Eichorn has not been on the academic ladder, but she is

now associate director and has been acting director of the Institute. Before the birth of their son Erik, Dotty and Ike stayed with us in Berkeley where Eric was born at Herrick Hospital. Dotty is equipped with tremendous energy which she has used in multiple administrative and committee assignments. For example, in addition to her Institute appointment she is now executive secretary of the Society for Research in Child Development.

Jean Macfarlane

Jones: A second research program, which, like the Berkeley Growth Study, became a longitudinal study, was the Guidance Study under the direction of Jean Macfarlane. Jean is a U.C. Ph.D. in psychology with a clinical and developmental background. She had worked with Douglas Thom, an early child psychiatrist in Boston, and was on the faculty at U.C. Medical School. She came to the Institute as a research psychologist and with a part time teaching position in psychology from which she was emerited in 1961.

The Guidance Study began in 1928 with a sample of every third child born in Berkeley. Because of Jean's clinical background the study is especially fruitful in the personality area. Early and continuing interviews with parents and children are especially rich and productive now that the group are in their fifties. These are in addition to the physical and some social measures.

Jean's personal as well as scientific wisdom is apperceptive and well-expressed as, most recently, in her contributions to the edited volume: The Course of Human Development, New York: Wiley, 1971. That was edited by Jones, M.C., Bayley, N., Macfarlane, J.W. and Honzik, M.P.

Her reaction to her career with the Guidance Study at the Institute is shared by many of us. "Involvement in longitudinal multidisciplinary study of personality has offered an intellectually exciting, frustrating, humility-inducing but highly satisfying life." (Senn) Jean is living in Berkeley and in touch with many of her colleagues and study members.

Marjorie Honzik

Jones: Marjorie Honzik, who has also contributed to the progress of the Guidance Study for many years, began her association with the Institute in many capacities as early as her student years at U.C. After her

Ph.D. and a year with the A.A.U.W. Nursery School in Washington, D.C., she returned to the Institute and to the Guidance Study. She had a lectureship in the Psychology Department and was emerited in 1976. Like some of the rest of us, this did not end her participation in research at the Institute. She is still a mainstay, with a recent grant to build on her earlier studies of the effects of parent child relationships. One of her important contributions has been her study of intelligence and related variables, with publications as early as 1938. Her findings may be considered one of our "breakthroughs."

As Lomax puts it: "At that time (early 1920s) intellect was commonly viewed as a fixed genetic property...Very soon, however, longitudinal researchers were themselves casting doubt on the long term predictive value of infant scales. The first cautionary report came from Berkeley in 1938." (Marjorie P. Honzik: The Constancy of Mental Test Performance during the Preschool Period. Journal of Genetic Psychology, 1938, 52, 285-302.)

Our book in press, Present and Past in Midlife, has two chapters co-authored by Marjorie: "Experience, Personality and I.Q.," and "Health in the Middle Years." These have used data from all three longitudinal studies.

Erik Erikson

Jones: Erik Erikson came to the Institute to work with the Guidance Study material in the 1940s, and we discussed him earlier.

Judith Chaffey

Jones: The third longitudinal study under Herbert Stolz and Harold Jones, the Adolescent Growth Study, later the Oakland Growth Study, because the adolescents became adults, is strongest in the area of social, observational, and physiological data. The children, chosen from elementary schools when preadolescent, went to the same junior and senior high school. They were classmates.

Their most appreciated staff person was their school counselor, Judith Chaffey. To some she became "Aunt Judy!" Judy, a tenured teacher of French at University High School had just returned from a year at St. Elizabeth's Hospital in Washington, D.C. where she got her M.A. in Psychology. With this appropriate background, she was an ideal choice. As she has said, "Keeping the group together and

cooperative was a major requirement. Since they knew and were influencing each other, if a negative feeling had ever developed in some quarters toward our project it could have endangered the whole undertaking." (Recently said over the phone to me.) She visited their homes, interviewed their parents, took part in our social outings, taught many of them to drive using her own car. She lives at the Sequoias in San Francisco and is still first in the affection of the Oakland Growth Study members.

Nathan Shock

Jones: Nathan Shock was our psychological-physiological specialist. Measures of skin resistance with the galvanometer, basal metabolism tests, and exercise tolerance assessments were part of his province.

It was not a popular part of the program. As one girl complained, "I didn't like the college men to see me running up stairs." To alleviate this humiliation, Shock himself ran up those flights of stairs with each day's contingent. A free breakfast of their menu choices was another appreciated peace offering.

Elsa Frenkel-Brunswick

Jones: This project, like the Guidance Study with Erik Erikson, benefited from a staff member with a psychoanalytic orientation, Elsa Frenkel-Brunswick. Elsa's monograph, "Motivation and Behavior," uses our Drive and Trait Ratings (from Harry Murray), our TAT's, our observational ratings and the adolescents' Adjustment Inventory Responses in a depth study which only she with her dynamic approach could have created. Egon Brunswick of the Psychology Department was responsible for bringing her to this country from Germany. They were married, became next door neighbors and friends of ours.

Nevitt Sanford

Jones: Nevitt Sanford, a psychoanalytically oriented social psychologist [Evans, R.I. The Making of Social Psychology. New York: Gardner Press, Inc., 1980] broadened our interpretations of Murray Picture analyses and case material. Nevitt was one of the committee with Dorothy Eichorn and Marjorie Honzik who wrote a very appreciative and perceptive memorial for Harold in Child Development.

Nevitt Sanford also helped me through that period of simultaneous widowhood and retirement by giving me a job at his new Institute for the Study of Human Problems at Stanford where I worked for five years on his study of Stanford students and on alcohol problems. Nevitt believed in and promoted interdisciplinary research, so at Stanford once again I benefited by associations with a number of people, many from other disciplines.

I interviewed our OGS members as part of the Problem Drinking Study. Nevitt's discussion of my paper on "Drinking Patterns in Women" gave it a more dynamic orientation. [Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 1968, 32, 13-17] More recently he obligingly allowed Deana Logan to interview him about me as a person for her contribution to Psychology of Women Quarterly.

Paul Mussen

Jones: Paul Mussen, with whom I coauthored three articles on rate of maturing in adolescence, was an able director of the Institute for ten years, until 1981. His contribution to the developmental field is outstanding in the textbook and source book field. I can thank him for the editing of the draft of my chapter in Present and Past in Midlife.

Margaret Erwin Schevill

Jones: Margaret Erwin Schevill joined the Institute staff to develop an art project for the boys and girls in the Adolescent Study when the clubhouse was opened in a rented residence next door to the Claremont Junior High School in Oakland in 1934. Hers became a very important contribution oriented toward dynamic (Jungian) psychology.

The Schevills were neighbors of the Joneses. Mr. Schevill was professor of Spanish at U.C. Margaret Schevill had a private art class at her home on Tamalpais Road on Saturday mornings which our two daughters were enjoying. Harold and I liked her non-directed approach and persuaded her to undertake a similar project with study members.

I will quote here from her report on her self-portrait project with study members which began in the autumn of 1936 and continued through 1938.

The idea of the self-portrait was an easy one to explain to the members of the study. The film "Rembrandt" had just been shown, and most of the movie-goers had seen it and

knew that Mr. Charles Laughton's study of Rembrandt had been based on a large number of self-portraits by Rembrandt. Also the members of various groups had become acquainted with the Van Gogh self-portrait seen at the San Francisco exhibition. There was a certain fascination to a number of members of the study in saying "I wonder if I could draw myself." The numerous and varied reactions to the situation created by recognition of the mirror image will be spoken of later. The wonder and dismay of the primitive on beholding his double in stream or mirror was paralleled by some of the reactions.

A word as to why I wanted to make a series of self-portraits of adolescents. In the autumn of 1935 I had been working in Zurich with Dr. Carl Jung. I had discussed with him in a number of sessions the necessity of recognizing the irrational aspects of the individual in our American educational program as well as the rational values. Since we knew that approximately only 25% of our students were mental types, why were we insisting that the remaining 75% follow a program unsuited to their probable development? Of course, the answer was the old one of college entrance requirement, and the false kudos existing in America for the holder of a college degree. But this was only part of the answer. We were bewildered as teachers and didn't know what education (from educere - to lead out) really meant.

The conclusion to which I came that term was that the so-called artistic evaluations of personality were as important as the scientific ones. In further discussing children's art work with Dr. Jung he said that if we could look with the living eye at the art expression of children, we would see many things which the adult rational or scientific eye could never see. Through the art work of children we have a primitive manifestation of human life, a new language which was waiting to be read. But science can kill these values, blot them out as though it had an evil eye, as though it made them lose their living values. The artistic eye recognizes these values, but needs the scientific eye to help it classify and evaluate. A synthesis of these two opposite points of view would keep us from too one-sided a point of view, a point of view which could not see the whole meaning. That it would modify our educational curricula was of course obvious.

On my return to New York I had an interview with Mr. Lawrence Frank. We discussed the past art work of the study, and he said he was interested in further projects "to work through artistic media and other means to develop a fund of knowledge about what is going on in the maturation

process of significance to the individual destiny." He asked me in what new ways a presentation of the young individual could be made. He stressed also his interest in Dr. Jung's theory of the anima and animus. In the matter of the confusion between the masculine and feminine roles in adolescence, could we get any indications of this through artistic expression? He asked me to think of ways and means by which we could watch and honor those sensitive responses to creative material which the non-intellectual functions have to offer us. He thought that such responses would help us to a fuller view of the individual boy and girl in the study, and, in so doing, of adolescence in general.

After this interview I thought of the self-portrait tentatively as a means to approach this very delicate material lying at the threshold of emotional adolescent life. I also wanted to supplement the self-portrait with the possibility of a drawing of the opposite sex.

Catherine Landreth

Jones: I have been talking about people in the three longitudinal studies with whom I was closely associated before my retirement in 1960, and most of whom had contacts with the study members. This by no means represents the total staff or projects.

For example, there is the nursery school and its research, now housed in the Harold E. Jones Child Study Center. As I said earlier, my daughter Lesley was a member of the first group, as was Bill Toohey, physician for our longitudinal studies. Bob and Ida Sproul's second son, John, was also in an early group there. Later one of my grandsons was a student under Hannah Tiyo Sanders, a teacher of warmth and good cheer.

Catherine Landreth, who became director of the school in 1938, has recorded her experiences in publications including a widely used textbook: Early Childhood: Behavior and Learning, 2nd ed. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967 and Preschool Learning and Teaching, New York: Harper and Row, 1972. *

The Study and the 60-Year Old Group

Jones: What I really want to talk about before this oral history is finished is how we have kept these longitudinal studies going. A new follow-up

*also see Landreth tapes and transcript in the Donated Oral History Collection of The Bancroft Library.

is in progress. Questionnaires have been sent out to bring our data up to date on family, jobs and so forth. The members will be coming in beginning this fall for physical assessments, interviews, tests. [see previous section, The "Lunch Study," and A Talk at Holy Names]

The Intergenerational Study, (IGS) as it is now called, combines the Berkeley Growth Study (BGS), the Guidance Study (GS) and the (Adolescent) -Oakland Growth Study (OGS). Most of the members of the OGS are sixty years old this year. Their parents, spouses and children have been included in some parts of the program. At least two OGS members are now great-grandmother's!

Why do they stay with us? Some now feel they are making an important contribution to society. Even back in his adolescent years, one boy explained about the study, "It's to tell others how we grow."

Some feel they are benefited by being listened to as they talk about themselves. A careful physical exam is welcomed by some. Belonging to an established group with a purpose has an appeal. There have been nine newsletters for the OGS members since their graduation from high school. From the days of World War II in which our men served and our women waited, the years of the depression, to the present (and for some the retirement years), the letters provide continuity and companionable news.

The last reason above applies particularly to OGS members, and I know something of how this came about. I gave as examples of devotion to this effort Herbert Stolz driving the boys to the Institute for their physical exam, Nathan Shock's running upstairs with the exercisers, Judy Chaffey as counselor, friend, driving instructor. Harold Jones provided interest and camaraderie as a photographer of informal situations at the Institute sessions, the clubhouse, on excursions and at post-high school reunions. For the last year or more I have been calling OGS members on their birthdays. They seem pleased and it is a real delight to me.

[This final section is included as a restatement of a theme that Jones and the interviewer developed earlier in the interviews. Between the third and fourth interviews, Jones had submitted written material which, inevitably, inserted as it has been following the conversation that was based upon it, caused repetitions and overlappings in material discussed. S.B. Riess]

Transcribers: Matt Schneider
Ilanna Yuditsky

Final Typist: Joanie Singer

AFTERWORD

It has been a rewarding experience to participate in this oral history, to remember those who have helped and encouraged Harold and me along our life's way, our ancestors, our parental families, our daughters, Barbara Coates and Lesley Alexander, their children and their children's children, our colleagues, associates and friends, including members of the longitudinal studies, "our partners in the study of human lives."

Biographical material assuredly has historical value, and especially for a field of study which is relatively young. Chance, luck, being in touch with and being touched by the spirit of the times, directs an individual's life course. To make those elements of my history part of the record is the purpose here, in the foregoing oral history.

Reviewing Present and Past in Middle Life [Eichorn, et al, 1981], Bob and Pat Sears have written: "From the first generation of researchers only Mary Cover Jones has contributed to this volume. Life-Span Research uses up the lives of researchers as well as subjects." But what a glorious life experience it has been for all of us! And what good fortune to have grown up, along with Harold Jones, in the field of Child and Human Development. (The current term, Life-Span Development, indicates the direction the field has taken.)

When Suzanne Riess first came to my home for the taped interviews, I started off blithely adlibbing to her questions without much preparation or forethought. Though the process has come to an end, I am now "conditioned" to delve into records formerly slighted, to recall important impressions, significant events, appreciations by colleagues, students, friends. Doing so, I find additional evidence of Harold's creativity in his letters and poems. There is always more beyond!

Willa Baum, the head of the oral history office, visualized the proposed endeavor in these terms: "We have in you [Jones]" (as she believed) "a unique source of chronicling the history of Child and Human Development and the growth studies for which your Institute and Harold Jones became internationally known."

I am abashed to view my meager deliverance in the light of her hopes, but it is good to have some of my descendants (yes, unto Kathryn Pauli, my eleven-year-old great-granddaughter) assure me they are looking forward to reading this story. That assuages the feeling of regret in writing *Finis* to the undertaking, and it is to them that I dedicate this history.

Mary Cover Jones

January 1983
Berkeley, California

APPENDICES

The Institute of Human Development
Fortieth Anniversary Award

to

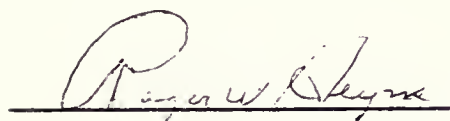
Mary Cover Jones

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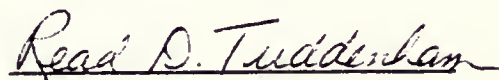
her distinguished contribution to the
study of human development

1969

University of California



Chancellor



Acting Director I.H.D.

MARY COVER JONES - A player of many parts in the Institute's history - charming hostess and helpmate to her husband, who for 25 years was the Institute's Director--a distinguished scientist in her own right: Her rare sensitivity and perceptiveness of significant areas of research in developmental psychology has led to her making multiple distinguished contributions to the field of human development--her early research on developmental patterns of children; her work on conditioning of infants; the effects of differences in rates of maturing on personality development; and her deep understanding of children, especially the Junior High School Age. As a Professor of Education, she was able to transmit refreshingly her understanding of child development to the teachers of the future. In 1968, with Lois Stolz, she received the highest honor we have to bestow on developmental psychologists, the G. Stanley Hall award for her distinguished contribution to developmental psychology. We, her friends, rejoice at this opportunity to add our own accolade.

G. STANLEY HALL AWARD, DIVISION 7,
AMERICAN PSYCHOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION, 1968

to

MARY COVER JONES

Our divisional award for outstanding contributions to developmental psychology could not be more fittingly awarded than to Mary Cover Jones. For almost half a century, across the age span from infancy through middle age, and on both sides of this continent, she has been a pioneer in research on emotional and social development.

Her early series of experiments on the development and elimination of fears are among the most widely cited in the entire psychological literature. In 1950 the first of an innovative group of studies by Dr. Jones and her collaborators on the behavioral correlates and long-term consequences of early and late maturing appeared. Only a few years ago Dr. Jones' presidential address to this division on that topic extended the range of predictors and predictions examined. Among her other pioneering contributions are a report in 1926 on the development of behavior patterns, such as visual pursuit, during infancy; use of the "baby-party" technique ten years before its commonly recognized introduction; a classic paper on the junior high school age; and work on adolescence, including functional analysis of colloquial speech, peer group recognition, and secular trends in interests and attitudes. Dr. Jones' current research deals with the developmental antecedents of drinking behavior. In addition, she is an active member of the staff of the intergenerational longitudinal study recently initiated at the Institute of Human Development at the University of California, Berkeley.

Mary and Harold Jones produced the first educational television course on developmental psychology, and she was the first invited participant in a similar program subsequently offered by the University of Minnesota. As a professor in the School of Education, Dr. Jones taught undergraduate sections in developmental psychology known not only for their breadth and depth, but also for their liveliness. Her graduate seminar in social development enjoyed a comparable reputation and attracted students from a number of disciplines.

The Division on Developmental Psychology does itself honor in presenting to Mary Cover Jones the G. Stanley Hall Award.

CURRICULUM VITAE

1. Identifying Information

Date sheet for: Mary Cover Jones
Date of birth: September 1, 1896
Place of birth: Johnstown, Pennsylvania
Age: 86
Marital status: Widow
2 children
6 grandchildren
6 great-grandchildren

2. Academic Training

College: Vassar College (1915-1919) A.B., 1919
Columbia University (1919-1920) M.A., 1920
Columbia University (1920-1926) Ph.D., 1926
High School: Johnstown High School, Johnstown, Pennsylvania

3. Professional Experience

1920 Assistant Psychologist, New York City Children's Hospital. Group and individual tests of ability and achievement.
1920-21 Teacher, Ungraded Classes, New York City School System. Taught class of emotionally disturbed children ages 8 - 12.
1921-22 Lecturer, Women's Medical College, Philadelphia.
1921-23 Psychologist, Commonwealth Fund Preschool Survey.
1923-25 Research Associate, Columbia University, Institute of Child Welfare Research.
1925-27 Rockefeller Fellow in Child Development, Columbia University Institute of Child Welfare Research, National Research Council.

1927-28 Lecturer, Parent Education, State Department of Education, California.

1929-present Research Associate, Institute of Child Welfare (now Institute of Human Development), University of California.

 (Salary from Laura Spelman Fund, 1929-36; from General Education Board Grant to Oakland Public Schools, 1936-39; from General Education Board to University, 1939-48. Served without salary, upon the expiration of this grant).

1936 Lecturer, Oregon State College Summer Session.

1944 Lecturer, Utah Agricultural College Summer Session.

1946-60 Lecturer in Department of Psychology, University of California.

1947-49 Lecturer, University of California Summer Session for Training in Family Life, Health and Social Relations.

1948-75 Correspondence course on Child Psychology (Psychology XB 112), University Extension, University of California.

1949 Lecturer, Child Development, In Service Training Program for Social Workers, Alameda County Welfare Commission.

1951-75 Correspondence course on Adolescence (Psychology XB 113), University Extension, University of California.

1952 In charge, Child Psychology Television Course, University Extension, University of California.

1952-55 Assistant Professor in Department of Education, University of California, Berkeley.

1955-59 Associate Professor in the Department of Education, University of California, Berkeley.

1959-60 Professor in the Department of Education, University of California, Berkeley.

1961-65 Research Associate, Institute for the Study of Human Problems, Stanford University, Stanford, California.

1963 Visiting Professor of Child Development, Mills College.

1969-present Consultant, Intergenerational Studies, University of California, Institute of Human Development.

4. Public Service

1933 Member, Executive Committee, National Nursery School Association. Delegate from Pacific Coast Nursery School Association to National Association for Nursery Education, Toronto, Canada.

1942-45 Member, Committee on Children in War Time, Berkeley Civilian Defense Program.

1947 Member, Advisory Committee, Berkeley Mental Health Association.

1947 Member, Interdisciplinary Conference, Culture and personality. Viking Fund, New York.

1947 Advisory Committee, Children's Bureau, Federal Security Agency (Clearinghouse Services for Research in Child Life).

1948 Member, Board of Directors, National Committee for Parent Education.

1948-51 Member, Bay Area Vassar Club Scholarship Committee.

1949 Chairman, Committee on Nursery School Standards, State Department of Education.

1949-50 Lecturer on Child Development, San Francisco Family Life Institute.

1950 Consultant, Russell Sage Foundation on studies of adoption.

1950 Section Leader, Today's child in his family and community. California Youth Authority Workshop (published by California Youth Authority, 1950, pp. 39-45).

1951 Section Leader, Youth and the family, San Francisco Family Life Education Committee.

1951 Member, Berkeley Y.W.C.A. Teen Age Committee.

1951 Member, Planning Committee and Delegate to Workshop on Adoption, University Extension, June 1951.

1951 Co-author, Report of Study Group on Adoption, Alameda County Council of the League of Women Voters.

- 1951 Representative to State Citizens' Committee on Adoption from Alameda County Committee, Los Angeles, May 1951.
- 1951 Member, Alameda County Citizens' Committee on Adoption.
- 1952 Consultant, University Explorer Radio Program, May 18, 1952, Children for Adoption.
- 1952-60 Advisor, Pi Lambda Theta (Educational Honor Society).
- 1961-62 Chairman, Committee on Fellows, Division of Developmental Psychology, American Psychological Association.
- 1962-63 Chairman, Membership Committee, Society for Research in Child Development.
- 1963-64 Consultant, Endocrinology Division, Program on Longitudinal Research, Scripps Clinic and Research Foundation.
- 1975 Consultant, Journal of Behavior Therapy and Experimental Psychiatry.

5. Recognitions

- 1926 Sigma Xi.
- 1926 Delta Kappa Gamma.
- 1946 Diploma in Counseling and Guidance, American Board of Examiners in Professional Psychology.
- 1946 Leader, Conversation-Contact Hour, American Psychological Association.
- 1952 Kappa Delta Pi.
- 1952 Pi Lambda Theta.
- 1960 President, Division of Developmental Psychology, American Psychological Association.
- 1968 G. Stanley Hall Award, Division of Developmental Psychology, American Psychological Association.
- 1969 Award, Institute of Human Development, Fortieth Anniversary.

6. Membership in Professional Organizations

Fellow, American Psychological Association
 Member, Western Psychological Association
 Member, California state Psychological Association
 Member, Society for Research in Child Development
 Fellow, Gerontological Society

7. Addresses and Papers at Professional Meetings (Selected)

Conditioning and reconditioning: An experi- mental study in child behavior	Sixty-second Annual Meeting of the National Education Association	1924
The use of psychological measures in the nursery school	Delegate, Pacific Coast Nursery School Association, National Association for Nursery School Education, Toronto, Canada	Oct. 1933
The emotional development of the child	National Association for Nursery Education, St. Louis	Oct. 31, 1935
Address by invitation	National meeting of American Home Economics Association, Seattle	1936
The needs of the adolescent	University of California, Agricultural Extension Conference	Jan. 4, 1938
Recent Research in Child Development	Pacific Coast Nursery School Association	Feb. 4, 1938
Safeguarding the child's personality	California Congress of Parents and Teachers Convention, San Francisco	May 23-27, 1938
Wholesome recreation in childhood	Progressive Education Association, Los Angeles	August 1938
Problems of the freshman counselor	Talk to Junior Counselors, Wheeler Hall, University of California, Berkeley	Apr. 3, 1940
Techniques in the case study of adolescents	Collaborative Center, University of Chicago	May 1940

Differences in adolescent sex role as revealed by colloquial speech	Western Psychological Association	1947
Address by invitation	National meeting of American Home Economics Association, San Francisco	1950
Physical factors related to personality	Society for Research in Child Development, Berkeley	1963
Presidential Address: Psychological correlates of somatic development	American Psychological Association, Division 7, Los Angeles	Aug. 1964
A study of drinking patterns and personality correlates	Commonwealth Club, San Francisco	April 1965
Correlates and antecedents of adult drinking patterns	Paper presented at Western Psychological Association meeting, Honolulu	June 1965
Invited Paper: Longitudinal studies of aging: The California longitudinal studies	International Congress of Gerontology, Vienna, Austria	June 27-July 2, 1966
Adolescent antecedents of drinking patterns in women	Society for Research in Child Development, Santa Monica	March 1969
Invited Address: Albert, Peter, and John B. Watson	First Annual Southern California Congress on Behavior Modification, Los Angeles	1969
The history of child development	Wright Institute	Feb. 1974
Therapeutic approaches to personality change	The William James Center, Wright Institute	Oct. 1974
Keynote Speaker: A 1924 pioneer looks at behavior therapy	Conference on Behavior Therapy: Fifty Years of Progress, 1924-1974, Philadelphia	Nov. 1974
The history of child development	Western Psychological Association, Los Angeles	April 1976

The history of child development: A personal report	Department of Psychology, University of California, Santa Cruz	Jan. 1977
Invited Address: John B. Watson	American Psychological Association, Division 26, Toronto, Canada	Aug. 1978
Invited Address: Reminiscences	Southern California Behavior Modification Conference, Los Angeles	Feb. 16, 1979
Invited Conversation Hour: Find your roots--meet the ancients	Society for Research in Child Development, Los Angeles	Mar. 16, 1979
Discussant, Symposium: John B. Watson's life, times and work	American Psychological Association, Los Angeles	Aug. 27, 1981
Participant, Symposium: Women in the history of psychology	American Psychological Association, Los Angeles	Aug. 28, 1981

8. War Services

Committees

State Advisory Committee for Day Care for Children.

State Advisory Committee to Office of Civil Defense, Coordinator, Child Care Services in Wartime (representing Committee for Training of Preschool children).

Northern California Committee for the Care and Training of Preschool Groups, Advisory to Committee on Health, Welfare and Consumer Interests, State Defense Council (Chairman).

California Committee for Mobilization of Trained Volunteers for Care of Young Children in Defense Areas.

Advisory Committee, Alameda County Charities Commission, Child Care Survey.

Berkeley Defense Council subcommittee on Care of Children in Wartime (Chairman, Care of School Age Section).

The Berkeley Defense Council subcommittee on Recreation.

Advisory Committee, Girl Reserves, Berkeley Y.W.C.A.

Member, Assistance Section, Public Welfare Division, Berkeley Defense Council.

Advisory Committee, Care of Children of Working Mothers, to San Francisco War Manpower Commission.

Oakland Community Committee on Nursery Schools.

Advisory Committee, Mills College Intensive Training Course for Directors of Child Care.

West Coast Committee, National Student Relocation Council.

Talks on Child Care programs, Conferences, Radio, etc.

Mills College Conference on Child Care. "Parent Education in a Child Care Program," March 1943.

Northern California Conference on Child Care Services, called by State Department of Education, January 1943.

P.T.A. Radio Series "War Nerves and Our Children," April 1943.

Alameda County P.T.A. Assembly. Talk on Child Care Facilities, June 1942.

Leader, A.C.E. Workshop, "Developing Nursery Schools to Meet Community Needs," November 1942.

Talk to Community Service Group, University Y.W.C.A. Community Plans for Care of Children in Wartime, March 1942.

Talk to San Francisco Golden Gate Kindergarten Association, "How to Safeguard My Child from Fear of War."

Participant: Hearing before the State Senate Interim Committee on Economic Planning, Senators Kenny and W. Presiding.

Discussion Leader, C.I.O. Conferences on Women in Industry, San Francisco, Care of Children of Working Mothers.

Participant, Round Table Discussion Day Care for Children of Working Mothers, Child Welfare League of America. First Western Conference at California Conference of Social Workers, San Francisco, April 1942.

Speaker at Hearing Sponsored by Mental Hygiene Association on Child Care Bills up before the Legislature, January 1943.

Classes

University of California Department of Education, Course on Care of Children in Wartime, Summer Session, 1942.

Organized Course for Berkeley Y.W.C.A. Girl Reserves on Care of Young Children.

Child Care 300. University of California Department of Education, July-October 1943; October-March 1944; March-June 1944.

PUBLICATIONS

Mary Cover Jones
Institute of Human Development
University of California
Berkeley, California

- Jones, M.C. The elimination of children's fears. Journal of Experimental Psychology, 1924, 7, 382-390.
- Jones, M.C. A laboratory study of fear: The case of Peter. Pedagogical Seminary, 1924, 31, 308-315.
- Jones, M.C. Conditioning and reconditioning: An experimental study in child behavior. Sixty-second Annual Meeting of the National Education Association, 1924, 62, 575-580.
- Jones, M.C. A study of the emotions of preschool children. School and Society, 1925, 31, 755-758.
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- Jones, M.C. The development of early behavior patterns in young children. Pedagogical Seminary and Journal of Genetic Psychology, 1926, 4, 33.
- Jones, H.E. & Jones, M.C. A study of fear. Childhood Education, 1928, 5, 136-143.
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- Jones, M.C. Treating fears at home. California Parent-Teacher, December 1929, 6.
- Jones, M.C. The nursery school in relation to the health of the preschool child. Hospital Social Service Magazine, 1930, 21, 142-148.
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- Jones, M.C. The prevention and treatment of children's fears. In V.F. Calverton & S.D. Schmalhausen (Eds.), The new generation. N.Y.: Macaulay, 1930, pp. 445-464.
- Jones, M.C. & Prentiss, S.W. The observation of food habits in young children. Childhood Education, 1930, 7, 14-17.
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- Jones, M.C. What experiment shows. Child Study, 1931, 8, 224-227.
- Jones, M.C. Conditioning children's emotions. In C. Murchison (Ed.), A handbook of child psychology. Worcester, Mass.: Clark University Press, 1931; London: Oxford University Press, 1931, pp. 71-93.
- Jones, M.C. The period of adolescence. California Parent-Teacher, April 1932, 13 and 25.
- Conrad, H.S. & Jones, M.C. A two-year record of attendance and colds in a nursery school. Child Development, 1932, 3, 43-52.
- Jones, H.E. & Jones, M.C. Discovering all about things. Child Study, 1932, 10, 67-68.
- Jones, M.C. Neo-natal behavior. The Medical and Professional Woman's Journal, 1933 (Dec.), 362-364.
- Jones, M.C. Emotional development. In C. Murchison (Ed.), A handbook of child psychology (2nd ed.). Worcester, Mass.: Clark University Press, 1933, pp. 271-302.
- Tryon, C. McC. & Jones, M.C. Consistency and constancy of judgments of personality traits by sixth and seventh grade children. Psychological Bul-

letin, 1933, 30, 602. (Abstr.)

Jones, M.C. A program for the measurement of adolescent personality. Psychological Bulletin, 1934, 31, 582. (Abstr.)

Jones, M.C. The new child's introduction to the regime of the nursery school. Report of Proceedings, Pacific Coast and Rocky Mountain States Institute for the Orientation of State Supervisors of Emergency Nursery Schools. Berkeley, Cal.: 1934, Part V, p.18. (Abstr.)

Jones, M.C. Leisure time activities of adolescents. Psychological Bulletin, 1935, 32, 538. (Abstr.)

Carter, H.D., Conrad, H.S., & Jones, M.C. A multiple factor analysis of children's annoyances. Journal of Genetic Psychology, 1935, 47, 282-298.

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Carter, H.D. & Jones, M.C. Vocational attitude patterns in high school students. Journal of Educational Psychology, 1938, 29, 331-334.

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Mary Cover Jones: Feminine as Asset

Deana Dorman Logan

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Mary Cover Jones has played many roles during her career as a psychologist—researcher, professor, wife of the eminent psychologist Harold E. Jones, and friend to some of the great names in the field such as Erik Erikson and Nevitt Sanford. Included in the paper is a discussion of three of her primary areas of research—the case study of Peter which provided a preview of behavior modification, evidence from longitudinal studies regarding the problems of early and late maturing, and work on personality antecedents in problem drinkers. In addition, her part in the establishment of the major longitudinal studies at the University of California is reported. Finally, her successful application of traditionally feminine strengths to these many professional undertakings is discussed.

At first glance, 82-year-old Mary Cover Jones attracts you with her warmth. As you get to know her she reinforces this impression with her thoughtfulness and the support she gives not only to long-time friends and associates, but also to those of us who are younger and newer in the field of psychology. These nurturing qualities are her most visible attributes.

At closer look, though, one finds not only a gracious woman, but also a distinguished psychologist. Author of over seventy publications, she is past President of Division 7 (Developmental) of the American Psychological Association (APA), a Fellow of both the APA and The Gerontological Society, and recipient of the G. Stanley Hall Award, the highest accolade given in developmental psychology. In

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1954 *The American Psychologist* (Kaess & Bousfield, 1954) listed her as one of the 26 most often cited authors in introductory psychology textbooks.

Mary Cover Jones pioneered several frontiers of psychology. While B. F. Skinner was still in high school, her research on children's fears and her case study of Peter (Jones, 1924a, 1924b) introduced a technique that was later to evolve into a major component of behavior therapy. Along with her husband, the late Harold E. Jones, and other researchers she contributed greatly to the emerging field of developmental psychology through the establishment of the major longitudinal studies at the University of California. In 1952, when educational television was just beginning as a viable mode of instruction, she was teaching one of the first courses to be aired, a class in child development.

Perhaps it is this integration of major scholarly achievements with the traditionally feminine attributes of warmth and nurturance that makes Mary Cover Jones' life so interesting to examine. She illustrates through her life and work that qualities such as these which are sometimes dismissed as irrelevant can, in fact, be assets for a woman wishing to succeed in the male-dominated area of behavioral science research.

Her contributions to psychology can be illustrated in four specific areas: (1) the case study of Peter, (2) the establishment of the Berkeley longitudinal studies, (3) research on the problems of early and late maturing, and (4) investigations into personality antecedents of drinking problems. These legacies to psychology represent the breadth of her interests, extending as they do over the length of her career, a span of more than 60 years. A review of her career confirms the successful integration of the dual traits described variously as agency and communion, masculine and feminine, achievement and affiliation.

VASSAR AND COLUMBIA

Mary Cover began her scholarly career with some stumbling as an undergraduate at Vassar. First, she failed Latin as a freshman; later she was denied entrance into Margaret Washburn's psychology seminary, thanks to a "C" in a previous lab course (Jones, Note 1). Yet her Vassar years yielded two very important influences. The first was a system of values and expectations regarding family-career arrangements, evident at Vassar in 1919, when feminism was in full

flower. This early exposure to peer support for combining achievement with motherhood no doubt helped her to cope later when she opted to play diverse roles simultaneously.

The second outcome of her Vassar years stemmed from her budding interest in psychology. In a serendipitous series of events, she was present at a lecture by John B. Watson in New York City when he was describing his ground-breaking research with Albert (Jones, 1974, 1975). In this now immortalized experiment of coupling a loud sound with the innocent reach for a white rat, Watson and Rosalie Raynor had conditioned the child to fear the rat. Albert's fear not only persisted after the sound was removed, but it eventually generalized to a fear of a white rabbit and other furry objects, even to a Santa Claus mask with a white fuzzy beard (Watson & Watson, 1921).

Listening to the charismatic Watson, the young Mary Cover was led to wonder whether this learning approach might not also be used to remove children's fears (Jones, 1974, 1975), and so began the history of a new and positive approach to the use of conditioning.

One of the few Vassar graduates who went on for advanced study, Mary Cover entered Columbia University in 1919. In the six ensuing years she would meet and marry Harold Jones, give birth to two children, produce her study of Peter, and receive her Ph.D. degree.

She met Harold, also a Columbia graduate student, at the New School for Social Research where they both were taking a history course from James Harvey Robinson. The two scholars quickly hit it off. She recalls his remark on her library when he first took her home, "I never thought I'd meet a girl who would have books like that." She responded, "I'm glad to have met a man who let me put my own nickel in the subway turnstyle" (Jones, Note 1). Within a year they were married, the ceremony being performed by Norman Thomas, the prominent socialist, whom they had met through Mary's brother. At that time Harold was a prized student of Woodworth's, heading toward a career in experimental psychology. Mary's excitement regarding her own research with children has been credited with turning Harold toward developmental psychology (Sanford, Eichorn & Honzik, 1960).

CASE STUDY OF PETER

Over the course of her years at Columbia Mary came to answer that early question sparked by Watson. She had come upon three-year-old Peter, who had already naturally developed a fear of furry

animals similar to the fear Watson had experimentally induced in Albert. Using Watson's procedures she deconditioned Peter's fear (Jones, 1924a, 1924b). Whether it is recognized as the beginning of behavior therapy (Wolpe, Note 3) or merely cited as an "anticipation" (Sarup, 1978), it must be acknowledged as a landmark study in psychology (Mednick, Pollio & Loftus, 1973).

Here, her personal convictions were already affecting her scientific contributions. Her quality of nurturance influenced her very choice of research. In recollection she could say, "It has always been of the greatest satisfaction to me that I could be associated with the removal of a fear. . . . I could not have played the role of creating a fear in a child, no matter how important the theoretical implications" (Jones, 1974, p. 581).

Her own "patient, meticulous, painstaking procedures" used in the work with Peter she attributed to Watson, who consulted with her throughout the study (Jones, 1975, p. 182). One of the threads she sees in her life—that events often shape lives (Jones, 1974, 1975)—is illustrated in her association with Watson. He had left academic life following a "sensationally publicized divorce suit" (Woodworth, 1959, p. 302) and was living in New York. In what might be a glimmer of an "old girls' network," she and Watson were introduced by Rosalie Raynor, a Vassar classmate of Mary's, who figured in the divorce and became Watson's second wife (Jones, 1974). Mary's care and concern for others extended to Watson's reputation. Even though many years intervened and others, including Watson himself, have documented the "sensational" events leading to the divorce (Watson, 1936; Woodworth, 1959), Mary is careful to prevent any discussion about him from focusing on this part of his life (Jones, 1974, Note 2).

Despite the classic that the Peter study has since become, it was given little regard at the time it was undertaken and was dismissed as an unsuitable subject for her dissertation (Jones, 1975). She can afford to look back in quiet reflection, finding it amusing "that it has received so much attention more recently. I still have yellowed stacks of reprints. No one was interested in them at the time" (Jones, Note 1).

It is with developmental psychology, however, rather than behavior therapy, that Mary Cover Jones has been most closely identified. She left New York when her husband was offered a job at the University of California, Berkeley. Like many women, she had married a man slightly older than herself whose career was further along and who, therefore, got the more attractive job offers.

At Berkeley the Joneses were able to join in the beginnings of the new child development movement, formed outside the confines of

traditional psychology. Begun in the late 1920s at a time when money was available for research and when science seemed to have answers for the way to a better life, the newly developed discipline focused on the growth and development of children in the hopes of improving their care (Senn, 1975).

THE INSTITUTE OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

In 1927, the University of California became the site of one of the several institutes established across the country by the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Foundation to study child development. "We called it the Institute of Child Welfare to make it sound respectable, as well as helpful," Mary Jones recalls (Jones, Note 1). The very idea of studying children scientifically in those early days was not altogether acceptable to either the general public or to traditional psychology with its carefully controlled laboratory techniques. Senn (1975), for example, in his published oral history of the child development movement reports the reasons for a separate Child Study Department at Vassar in 1927. A donor had given money to the college to open a nursery school, and Margaret Washburn, head of the psychology department and Mary's erstwhile professor, said, "Over my dead body!" (p. 21). Mary remembers Washburn's vowing never to set foot in the nursery school (Jones, Note 1).

Although the move to Berkeley offered Mary Jones a job, it was as a research associate, while Harold became Director of Research. He was, by all accounts, a very supportive leader, and yet the relationship of leader-follower generally remained. Nevitt Sanford agrees, "She had a mind of her own. She was certainly a psychologist in her own right. I think, though, she saw her primary task in helping Harold both make a success of the Institute and find out important things about adolescents" (Sanford, Note 4). This dedication to the success of Harold and the Institute probably led her to assume somewhat different tasks from those of an independent career scientist.

In 1928, while Mary was involved primarily in setting up the nursery school (now the Harold E. Jones Child Study Center), two other women, Nancy Bayley and Jean Macfarlane, were hired as administrators of the first two longitudinal studies, the Berkeley Growth Study and the Berkeley Guidance Study.

The third longitudinal study, the one that Mary has been associated with most closely over the years, began in 1932. The Adolescent Growth Study (later called the Oakland Growth Study) was

initiated to follow the transition through puberty of 200 fifth and sixth graders from five elementary schools in Oakland (Jones, 1967).

The Institute, now the Institute of Human Development, has recently celebrated its 50th anniversary. Luminaries such as Margaret Mead, Robert Butler, and Alice Rossi have personally appeared in Berkeley to honor this group of researchers and their study participants whose work is now proudly claimed by psychology. Throughout its history the Institute, now headed by Paul Mussen, has been the home of distinguished psychologists, including Diana Baumrind, Jack and Jeanne Block, Wanda Bronson, Dorothy Eichorn, Erik Erikson, Else Frenkel-Brunswick, Norma Hann, Marjorie Honzik, Nevitt Sanford, Brewster Smith, Read Tuddenham, and John S. Watson. The three longitudinal studies, begun in the time of the Joneses, have been combined into one investigation, now called the Intergenerational Studies. The study members are still being followed; 60% of the original groups remain. Results based on the data collected from 1972-1975 are being prepared for publication (Eichorn, Mussen, Clausen & Haan, in press). Over the years Mary Cover Jones never lagged in her dedication to the Institute of Human Development (IHD) and its objectives. An IHD Citation, awarded in 1969, described her as "a player of many parts in the Institute's history—charming hostess and helpmate to her husband, who for 25 years was the Institute's Director—a distinguished scientist in her own right..." Applauded were her "sensitivity and perceptiveness," which led her to make "multiple distinguished contributions to the field of human development."

THE PROBLEMS OF EARLY AND LATE MATURING

One major series of studies by Mary Cover Jones emanates from data collected in the Oakland Growth Study: her research on the effects of early and late maturation in adolescence on personality development. She has published five papers in this area (Jones, 1957, 1965; Jones & Bayley, 1950; Jones & Mussen, 1958; Mussen & Jones, 1957), one as her Presidential Address to Division 7 (Developmental) of the American Psychological Association (Jones, 1965).

The idea for this research arose from Mary's responsibilities for organizing direct observations of the Oakland Growth Study members. Participants were observed in their classrooms, on the playground, and in a "clubhouse" established near the school by the researchers. She remembers being impressed in her observations by

differences in status accorded to teenagers based on their physical development (Jones, Note 4).

Although this work on early-late maturing is linked primarily with Mary Cover Jones' intuitive conclusions, she magnanimously has described it, and related documents resulting from the longitudinal studies, as truly collaborative efforts. Undoubtedly, her solicitude and understanding contributed heavily to the success of the kind of cooperation demanded by the intricacies of longitudinal investigations.

Through careful study over many years she has shown that clear, measurable group differences in personality functioning exist among adolescents maturing earlier or later than their peers (Jones & Bayley, 1950; Jones & Mussen, 1958; Mussen & Jones, 1957). Further, she has documented that the coping strategies developed by the less popular late-maturing males and early-maturing females served them well even after maturation (Jones, 1965; Jones & Mussen, 1958). Finally, for reasons not quite clear, deviant timing has been shown to have long-term effects for males but not for females (Jones, 1957, 1965), perhaps due to a generalized tendency for women to be less affected by their history than men (McCandless, 1970).

Qualifications—primarily references to the narrowness of the sample—have been placed on the generalizability of this work on early-late maturing by Mary Cover Jones and her associates (Boutler Young, 1971; Grinder, 1973; McCandless, 1970). Admittedly the group is small, white, urban, middle-class volunteers from the western part of the United States. Nevertheless, the research has become a standard topic in the analysis of puberty and adolescence as found in textbooks on both adolescent psychology (e.g., Conger, 1977) and general developmental psychology (e.g., Hurlock, 1975).

In 1960, after 33 years with the Institute, Mary Jones and her husband retired. Several weeks later they flew to Paris for the beginning of their dream of life at a more leisurely pace. Within three days Harold was dead of a heart attack. Abruptly, Mary found herself without two primary roles she had played for many years, wife and worker. Her successful integration of the "agency" and "community" aspects of herself is illustrated in her response to Harold's death. Whereas in the past she had used her feminine qualities to effect success in a masculine field, she now used her work to meet some of her affiliative needs. For the next four years she joined her old friend Nevitt Sanford, who was at Stanford University where he had established the Institute for the Study of Human Problems. Her liveliness, also evident in those years, has been recalled by Sanford, who remembers Mary and E. M. Jellinek, both previously retired, as a

vivid contrast to the grim determination of the younger investigators, worried about their tenure and reputation (Sanford, Note 4).

PERSONALITY ANTECEDENTS OF DRINKING PROBLEMS

In an innovative linkage of areas of research, she was to combine the investigation of alcohol problems undertaken by the Stanford group with the ongoing longitudinal studies at Berkeley. For her research Mary interviewed adults of the Oakland Growth Study in depth regarding their drinking behavior. The personality characteristics of the drinking pattern groups were then compared at three ages: junior high, senior high, and adulthood. Although the groups were small, she found some patterns of personality emerging before the drinking patterns were established (Jones, 1968); she could show that men and women problem drinkers had exhibited instability, unpredictability, and impulsivity in youth (Jones, 1971). Cited in recent attempts in psychiatry to establish a link between alcoholism and minimal brain dysfunction (Tartar, McBride, Buonpane & Schneider, 1977), this work has emerged as a serious step forward in understanding the interrelationship of excessive drinking and personality.

Further, she documented that male problem drinkers as adolescents seemed to over-play the masculine role and began their drinking careers in defiance of authority (Gomberg, 1968; Grinder, 1973; Sanford, 1968). Obviously this fact has implications for interventions with adolescents regarding their use of alcohol.

In a forthcoming chapter on this topic (Eichorn, et al., in press) she notes that it is easier to predict later drinking problems for males than for females based on their adolescent personality data. Reflecting on this difference, she suggests that this may be additional evidence for a sex difference in the effect of personal history (Jones, Note 5).

The value of this work is presently difficult to assess. So little agreement has as yet emerged concerning the etiology of alcoholism. Although Nevitt Sanford considers that "it stands as one of the best studies of its kind" (Sanford, 1968, Note 4), it may be that only the future will recognize the importance of this segment of Mary Jones's research.

Mary contends that her life, like Edward Thorndike's, has been more a response to "outer pressures or opportunities rather than to inner needs" (Jones, 1975, p. 185). An example is her involvement in this alcohol work. She has remained actively engaged in alcohol research even though she became originally involved only "because Nevitt offered the opportunity" (Jones, Note 2).

CHOICE OF LIFESTYLE

While the fields of both behavior therapy and developmental psychology have been significantly influenced by the work of Mary Cover Jones, she herself never saw her career as the most important segment of her life. At the top of her list of priorities, no doubt, was her relationship with Harold. Even now (1980), 19 years after his death, she can say, "He's still very much a part of my life" (Jones, Note 1). She consistently mentions him first when asked to rank her greatest satisfactions, her most supportive relationships, or her deepest friendships over the years.

However, as meaningful to her personally as was this devotion to Harold, it undoubtedly inhibited her professional advancement. In addition to the influence this tie had upon the duties she assumed, there were more overt obstacles as well.

For example, the so-called "nepotism rule," effective in university hiring procedures during those years, forbade her entree to the academic ranks. Even though she often lectured to psychology classes, she could not hold a regular appointment because of Harold's professorship. Eventually, she was offered a tenure-track position in educational psychology, a legitimate area of study but clearly one with lesser status than psychology.

Her choice of motherhood no doubt also affected the magnitude of her professional contribution. During the time her children were young, fulltime in-home help was available for their careful supervision as well as for the normal household chores of cleaning and preparing meals. Not for her were the role conflicts of a younger generation of female professionals torn between the choice of either foregoing a career, at least temporarily, or attempting to play all roles at once, the "Superwoman" phenomenon.

Yet, despite Mary's historical advantage, her role as mother tempered her role as professional. Although she was employed throughout her career, she never worked full-time while her daughters were at home. In fact, she postponed for two years acceptance of her academic appointment when the department demanded a full-time commitment which she refused to make.

Another more subtle obstacle to her success as a scientist was posed by her motherhood as well. Despite the availability of live-in help and the concession to part-time work, her resolution to be a professional and a mother violated her own mother's values. And, of course, even with peer support, that kind of influence is a significant burden.

Obstacles probably also arose from the priority she gave to her

friendships as well as her family. In 1940, she says, three researchers at the Institute rated each other on nine of Murray's needs which they had just used with the study members. The others rated Mary highest on "desire for social ties." "It was obvious I wanted others to like me, and I worked at it," she says (Jones, Note 2). Sanford agrees with her own perception, though he says he would personally have rated her highest on "nurturance." "She has seen friendships as enormously important, as valuable and durable," he said. "I have really appreciated her friendship and support over the years" (Sanford, Note 4).

Although her work was extremely important to the Institute, particularly in the Oakland Growth Study, she never assumed major duties as an administrator. This allowed her to avoid the competition felt among those directing the different components of the longitudinal studies, yet it probably also limited the extent of her impact.

She dismisses these obstacles to professional success that others can identify because of her decisions to be the devoted wife, the loving mother, the trusted friend. She does not even acknowledge them as compromises. The satisfaction she feels she gained from her husband, the sustenance she continues to receive from her children and her friends more than compensate for anything one might say she lost in exchange. Her conviction in this matter prompts a re-examination of the value of intellectual or professional success relative to interpersonal satisfaction.

LIFE TODAY

Yet Mary Cover Jones did choose to have a career, and that decision has also served her well. Her role as a professional has lasted far longer than her roles as wife and child-rearer. At 82, Mary remains involved with the Institute of Human Development as consultant to the Intergenerational Studies, her services being volunteered since her "retirement" in 1960. She remains an active contributor to the field as in her chapter on alcohol problems for the book in preparation at the Institute (Eichorn, et al., in press). She has lunch frequently with her friends Jean Macfarlane, Marjorie Honzik, Dorothy Eichorn, and others who have been part of the studies over the years.

One of her tasks at the Institute has been helping to maintain contact with the study members. We can see the strength of her warmth and caring here not only as a personal attribute but as a professional attribute as well. The special relationships she worked to develop between the research staff and the study participants is surely one of the primary reasons for the lack of major attrition, a problem of

great magnitude in longitudinal studies (Jones, 1967). It also makes the work extremely satisfying. Many of the study members have become her friends. In fact, one piece of work she would still like to do is to write up an account of what it's been like to be part of the studies over the years.

In addition to her work at the Institute of Human Development, she is currently working on a grant proposal on retirement with Nevitt Sanford, Frances Carp, and others at the Wright Institute. She is also called upon from time to time for consultation with students from the University of California and the Wright Institute regarding their research.

A couple of years ago she moved to a retirement community in Santa Barbara. "I thought," she said, "I'm 80, and I'd better do this. The girls [her daughters] will know I'm taken care of, and they won't have to worry about me." However, within seven months she had returned to her home in Berkeley. "They were wonderful people, but I just wasn't ready for it" (Jones, Note 2).

Mary remains in close contact with her daughters, Barbara and Lesley, and their children. She is delighted that a grandson-in-law's acceptance for graduate work at the University will bring that family with two little great-granddaughters to live with her next fall.

ROLE MODEL

In what ways can Mary Cover Jones serve as a role model for younger women psychologists? There is no doubt that she sacrificed more than many would now be willing to in the service of her affiliative needs. Yet she illustrates that one can be a professional, even make significant contributions to the field, without foregoing interpersonal values. Also, she shows us that the traditionally feminine virtues of nurturance and affiliation need not be discarded but may, in fact, be used as assets by researchers, male and female. In addition, she reminds us that although some may achieve through very purposeful means, carefully guiding their own destiny, others find outer circumstances more influential and thus achieve partly through adaptability. Finally, aided by her earlier decision to have a career, she has remained vital and involved. She had once responded to the blows of widowhood and retirement by entering an entirely new area of study at Stanford. Now, at 82, she counters the threats of loneliness felt by many elders by remaining active in a job where her contributions are real and the personal satisfaction high. Certainly this is worthy of emulation.

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*Talk for Society for Research in Child Development
For Suzanne Rice*

from Mary Jones

History of the Institute of Human Development: A Model *

by Vicki Green

One of the concerns of any science/discipline is to chronicle its own unique history: to delineate and examine broad issues, and to describe influential institutions and individuals. Over the years there has been precedent for examination of historical material relevant to the broad issues and descriptive of influential individuals in the field of child development (C.D.). Recent renewed interest in such is evidenced in the 1975 publication of two works: Milton J. E. Senn's, "Insights of the C.D. Movement in the United States" and Robert R. Sears' "Your Ancients Revisited: . . .".

In contrast, there is less precedent in the literature for examining historical material relevant to C.D. institutions - specifically the C.D. institutes. Two published articles have focused upon longitudinal projects identified with institutes, but not upon the institutes per se. (See Elizabeth Lomax's article on the Institute of Human Development (IHD) as an example of the influence of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial on research in C.D. and Jerome Kagan's article on longitudinal programmatic research.) To provide a more comprehensive historical view of C.D., there is need for material specific to the history of C.D. institutes.

The project on which this paper is based focused upon the history of IHD, an institute which has played a central role in the history of C.D. Because of the time constraints of a paper presentation and the lack of precedence for such historical material, this paper focuses upon the methods used to gather material on the history of IHD.

*A copy of the interview questions developed by Green is deposited in The Bancroft Library.

METHOD - THE DEVELOPMENT OF MATERIALS AND PROCEDURES

Historical Data in Print

Materials - With the permission of IHD's Advisory Board, access was provided to all public and selected private printed information. These data included all annual reports (1927-1981), all published articles and books and selected materials in the director's files. Additionally, some participants volunteered perusal of their own private files.

Procedures - Printed public materials were used to develop an historical flo chart displaying references for published materials. Printed public materials were also used to develop a list of professional and academic staff affiliated with IHD from its inception to the present time. Printed private materials were used where necessary to validate and expand upon information provided by participants.

Historical Data - Oral History Interviews

Participants - With the assistance of the Associate Director and emeriti staff, a list was compiled that encompassed individuals who had served in a multitude of roles at or in relation to the Institute. Refer to Table 1 for a list of participants.

Materials- The initial list of questions was designed based upon the interviewer's knowledge of C.D., the C.D. historical literature and reading of Institute materials. The questions were edited by several individuals who had functioned in a variety of roles at the Institute, and who were knowledgeable in the field. Two sets of questions were generated. One set was suitable for the oral history interview. These were related to the following topics: issues in C.D., participant's history vis a vis the Institute, Institute history. Institute organizational and managerial issues, Institute longitudinal studies and related issues, the Child Study

Center (CSC), relationship to the University, other institutes and the fields of C.D. and life span development. The second set was suitable for written answers. These were time lines for the field, for the institute, and for the participant's own career.

Procedures* - Materials relevant to procedures used by oral historians were surveyed. The decision was made to alter the traditional procedures by designing a list of questions to be presented to all participants prior to the interview. The original and one copy of a consent letter was mailed to each potential participant. No further contact was made until a signed copy of the letter was returned, indicating agreement to participate. The list of questions was sent in conjunction with confirmation of the appointment time set by telephone. Participants were encouraged to answer the written questions prior to the interview. The method used during the interview was Piaget's clinical method, the general approach taken was Rogerian. Participants were encouraged to answer those questions appropriate to their role at IHD. On occasion, in the style of Piaget's method, further questions were posed. The interviews were taped; both participant and interviewer had control of the taping. Participants had the option to provide untaped answers (several did so) and the option to seal their tape(s) for a specified amount of time (no one did so). After the interview was completed, if the participant agreed, photographs were taken. Tapes were transcribed and mailed to participants for editing. Tapes, edited transcripts, and photographs are to be stored in the historical archives at IHD.

*Procedures for 3 of the 35 interviews differed due to participants geographic unavailability to the interviewer.

COMMENTS - OBSERVATIONS

Methods and Printed Material

There were two advantages to having read the public printed material prior to initiating the oral history interviews: 1) Summary material could be prepared for later access to specific information; and 2) The process provided familiarization with the Institute and Institute history. Additionally, perusal of printed material provided information on what data was not available for an historical file such that staff lists, vitae and flow charts could be prepared for the file.

Methods and the Interview Process

Institute information written for public consumption was not sufficient to provide accurate and complete historical data. Such information was supplemented with participant provided information. Furthermore, data was easier to obtain orally than by asking participants to write answers to questions. The interview format used - the clinical method - provided maximum opportunity for elaboration and clarification of information. Use of a set of standardized questions was viewed as advantageous, but only in conjunction with the option of additional questions being raised by the interviewer and the participant.

Given the focus of some questions and the longevity of ties to the Institute, many interviews included aspects of the process of life review. Some participants chose to discuss issues such as self worth, consideration of life career and specific career decisions, generativity and interpersonal relations that negatively and positively affected their professional life. Discussion of such sensitive material required that the interviewer not only focus upon data gathering, but upon the interpersonal nature of the interview. Also, issues related to confidentiality became

Table 1

Oral History Interviewees: Names and Position
at the Institute of Human Development

<u>Names</u>	<u>Position</u>
Diana Baumrind	Professional Staff
Leona Bayer	Professional Staff Emeritus
Nancy Bayley	Professional Staff Emeritus Emeritus Administrator, Child Study Center (CS)
Carol Bense	Director's Secretary
Jack Block	Faculty Affiliate
Wanda Bronson	Professional Staff
Judith Chaffey	Adolescent Longitudinal Study Counselor
John Clausen	Director, Academic Staff, Faculty Affiliate
Kathryn Eardley	Scientific Illustrator
Dorothy Eichorn	Associate Director, Administrator, CSC Professional Staff
Glen Elder	Professional Staff
Sanford Elberg	Emeritus Dean - Graduate Division
Erik Erikson	Professional Staff Emeritus
Rose Fox	Administrative Assistant
Norma Haan	Professional Staff
Marjorie Honzik	Professional Staff Emeritus
Carol Hiffine	Professional Staff
Jane Hunt	Administrator, CSC
Mary Cover Jones	Professional Staff Emeritus, Faculty Affiliate
Clark Kerr	Emeritus Chancellor and President
Andie Knutson	Acting Director, Associate Director, Faculty Affiliate
Catherine Landreth	Emeritus Administrator, CSC
Norman Livson	Professional Staff
Jean Macfarlane	Academic Staff Emeritus, Faculty Affiliate
Vivian March	Director's Secretary
Paul Mussen	Director, Acting Director, Associate Director, Academic Staff, Faculty Affiliate
Hannah Sanders	Head Teacher CSC
Barbara Scales	Head Teacher CSC
Nathan Shock	Professional Staff
Arlene Skolnick	Professional Staff
M. Brewster Smith	Director, Associate Director, Faculty Affiliate
G. Ed Swanson	Director, Faculty Affiliate
William Tooley	Professional Staff, Advisory Board
Read Tuddenham	Acting Director, Faculty Affiliate
Ann Vollmar	Administrative Assistant

critical.

The Interviewer - Data Gatherer

For many reasons it was important that the interviewer was perceived as a knowledgeable but neutral individual. The person who completes such a history ideally should have "insider status" without being an "insider". Prior to the oral history interview, the interviewer must be available for a sufficient amount of time to observe, learn and to be trusted by members of the institution, without engaging in activities that would alter ones neutrality.

Vicki Green, Ph.D.

Talk for the Society for Research in
Child Development

HAROLD ELLIS JONES

1894 – 1960

Harold Ellis Jones was born on December 3, 1894, in New Brunswick, New Jersey. He was the son of Elisha Adams Jones and Lessie E. Brown Jones, natives of Massachusetts, who came from a long line of New Englanders. It was always a matter of some regret for Harold that he had to put down New Jersey as the state of his birth when he really felt that he belonged to New England. It happened that his father held a position at Rutgers University at the time of his birth. In his infancy the family returned to Massachusetts and took up residence in Amherst. Later they moved to New Canaan, Connecticut, where Harold (taught much at home because of early illnesses) was prepared for the public high school in Stamford, Connecticut. He was graduated there as president of the class, an honor student, editor of the school monthly, and was voted by his classmates as having "done most for the school."

He entered the Massachusetts Agricultural College in 1914. His father had been manager of the Experimental Farm at the College, and it was probably under his influence that Harold started college with the intention of specializing in biology. But Harold's mother thought that he should have a liberal education, and this was no doubt a major factor in his decision to transfer to Amherst College at the beginning of his junior year. Alexander Meiklejohn was president of Amherst at the time, and Robert Frost and Stark Young were members of the faculty. All three of these men were interested in Harold and influenced his development. Here, no doubt, we find some of the sources of Harold's remarkably lucid and graceful literary style. Harold Jones' writing has always been so clear, so like a mirror that

Child Development, 1960, 31, 593-608.

CHILD DEVELOPMENT

shows us the object or content without distortion, that his style has often escaped notice and his writing has seemed to have been produced effortlessly. But we know that Harold labored over his style, devoting to his own writing the same care that he always gave to things which he was called upon to edit. Many people have had the experience of handing a paper to Harold Jones with the complete confidence that, if he approved, it was all right, and that, if it was not all right, he would soon fix it so that it was.

Undoubtedly the Amherst education contributed much to our conception of Harold Jones as a scholar and gentleman of the old school, a man whose broad education gave the basis not only for a great diversity of interests but for a knowledge of the world and of how to make value judgments about it.

Harold was graduated *Magna cum laude* and Phi Beta Kappa from Amherst, with a major in biology, in 1918. He spent that summer at the Institute of Marine Biology at Wood's Hole, Massachusetts, and then returned to Amherst to spend a year as an assistant in biology. The next year, 1919, he and Mary Cover appeared at Columbia University as graduate students in psychology. We do not know just when and in what circumstances Harold turned from biology to psychology. He was offered a job with Knight Dunlap at Johns Hopkins in the fall of 1919, and it may well be that what Dunlap had in mind was something on the borders of biology and psychology. The job with Dunlap fell through at the last minute, and then Harold went to Columbia to study psychology. Harold and Mary, both students in psychology at Columbia, actually met at the New School for Social Research, where both took a course in history with James Harvey Robinson. Harold had taken special notice of Mary at Columbia, and he wanted to meet a fellow psychology student who was also interested in history, so he introduced himself. This event was probably one of the most significant in his life. Not only did it lead to a happy and generative marriage, but it was determining with respect to Harold's professional career. At Columbia, Harold was interested in experimental psychology. He became Woodworth's assistant, and he began teaching experimental psychology before he received his Ph.D. degree. As had been the case at Amherst, he had the benefits of a very personal relationship with an admired professor. He and Woodworth went on camping trips together, and we may be sure that they talked not only about psychology but about the manifold aspects of the nature around them. But having met Mary, Harold's fate was sealed. She was a Rockefeller Fellow and was conducting a study of infant behavior. It was a little later, under the auspices of the Hecksher Foundation, that Mary, with Harold's encouragement, conducted her famous investigations of children's fears. Harold became interested in this kind of work. We can well imagine that he saw in it a chance to combine his deep and persistent interest in biological and hereditary factors, as determinants of behavior, and his interest in learning, which had been highly developed in Woodworth's laboratory.

Harold Jones took his Ph.D. at Columbia in 1923 and remained there as instructor and assistant professor until 1927. He taught physiological, experimental, and general psychology. He and Mary were married, by Norman Thomas, in 1920. Their daughter Barbara (Mrs. Kenneth Coates of Portland, Oregon) was born in 1922, and Lesley (Mrs. Alec Alexander of Santa Barbara, California) in 1925. There are six grandchildren.

Jones' early publications during his years at Columbia were experimental studies of learning, but after meeting Mary he became increasingly interested in the study of child development. It was through his participation in the studies begun by Mary Jones that he met Lawrence Frank, Director of the Laura Spellman Fund. Mr. Frank, at that time, was arranging for the establishment of an Institute of Child Welfare at the University of California, Berkeley, and it was through him that Jones was invited to come to Berkeley as Assistant Professor of Psychology and Director of Research at the Institute of Child Welfare. Dr. Herbert R. Stolz was the first Director of the Institute.

The move to Berkeley marks the beginning of a period of 33 years during which Harold Jones contributed widely and deeply to developmental psychology. He became Professor of Psychology in 1931 and Director of the Institute in 1935. He is perhaps best known in this country and abroad for his work in building up the Institute of Child Welfare from small beginnings to a research organization representing a great diversity of academic disciplines, of interests, and of points of view. The Institute is closely associated in most people's minds with the three growth studies which Jones started before 1932 and which are still in progress. His own research during this period was concentrated in the field of developmental psychology; it ranged over a wide area of problems and touched all the major phases of the life cycle—infancy, childhood, adolescence, maturity, and old age. Out of this work came the bulk of his 150 publications in scientific journals. For many years Jones taught the basic undergraduate courses in developmental psychology, while directing the graduate work of many students who were later to make their mark in this field. He was chairman of the University's Group in Child Development, which offered both undergraduate and graduate programs. As a teacher and as a spokesman for developmental psychology, and as an interpreter of research results in the field, Jones did not limit himself to the University, but accepted numerous invitations to speak and lecture before groups in the larger community. He became known in the Bay Area, throughout California, and in the world as a dependable source of the latest findings concerning children, adolescents, and, later, the aging. At the same time, Jones was intensively occupied with editorial work, being at one time or another during his Berkeley period on the editorial board of seven professional journals and an editorial consultant for five others. As a senior professor, his services were desired increasingly by the University, and he gave much time to work on faculty committees of high responsibility. At the same time, his counsel was sought

by numerous national and international organizations and committees. The projects which he served as consultant were of great diversity, reflecting the breadth of his interests, but they were almost always related to developmental psychology. Thus, Jones was consulted on elementary education, the education of teachers, graduate education, educational television, the exceptional child, delinquency, prejudice, adoption, and numerous other problems, in addition to those arising from within the field of developmental psychology itself.

Jones was a charter member of the Society for Research in Child Development, a member of its Governing Council from 1940 to 1945, and president in 1952-1953. He held numerous elective offices in the American Psychological Association, including membership on the Board of Directors, and the presidency of three Divisions: the Division of Educational Psychology, 1946-1947; the Division of Developmental Psychology, 1947-1948; and the Division of Maturity and Old Age, 1951-1952. He was president of the Western Psychological Association in 1935-1936, president of the Council of Gerontological Society in 1959-1960, and a member of the Council of Directors of the National Gerontological Society in 1958-1960. He served the National Research Council in various capacities during the period 1941-1951 and was closely associated with the Social Science Research Council over a period of some 15 years, being a member of the Board of Directors from 1943-1946 and Pacific Coast representative from 1946-1956. He was active in the affairs of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the American Orthopsychiatric Association, the National Society for the Study of Education, the Pacific Sociological Society, and the American Academy of Physical Education, whose award he received in 1950 for his research studies of physical abilities in adolescence. He was a member of the Central Commission on Mental Health and World Citizenship at the International Mental Hygiene Congress in 1948, and he served on the Program Committee of the International Congress on Gerontology in 1950-1951.

Harold Jones retired at the end of the academic year 1959-1960. During the last months of the spring semester he worked strenuously to put everything in order at the Institute. On June 3, he and Mary flew to Europe for a vacation, and this was intended to be the beginning of a rich period of retirement. He was scheduled to give papers at the International Congress of Psychology at Bonn and at the Seminar on the Growth of the Normal Child during the First Three Years at Zurich, sponsored by the International Children's Center. After three crowded days of sight-seeing and picture-taking in Paris, Harold Jones died of a heart attack on June 7.

It was somehow fitting that Harold should die abroad, while in the midst of life, and tragic that he should die at the beginning of a period of adventure to which he had for a long time been looking forward. He was a voyager from New England, reminiscent of those of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. With roots in the land, and with its traditions and

ethic firmly established in his character, he went out to explore the world. Sure of his basic identity and values, he was free to seek the exciting, the exotic, and the enchanting and to report back to those he knew would be especially interested. Just as he loved to go back to New England and to show his family the historic home of his ancestors, so he persisted in his upright, tough-minded, well-controlled, and down-to-earth way, while opening himself to what was new and strange and challenging. When one thinks of Harold, he thinks of stability and saneness, of dependability, of a man who left everything in order, both for his colleagues and successors and for his family, of a man who always had a plan—usually worked out with such imagination that it did not need to be changed. And one thinks of a certain strictness, the disposition to hold himself to a high standard and to expect a great deal of others. But one also thinks of his curiosity and eagerness, of his capacity to view with a naive eye a world that was always fascinating. And one thinks of his wit and humor, his capacity to make the unexpected remark, and, of course, of his irrepressible urge to produce humorous poems. As a product of New England, Harold seemed to approach the world with an extended time perspective. He had a sense of the continuity of culture. He was interested in things that had lasted a long time, and in all of his work he built for the future. He planted trees and originated longitudinal studies of human growth, both undoubtedly with the feeling that the future would reap the rewards. Everything that he did, whether it be writing a letter or taking a picture or developing a research institute, he did as if he were aware of how these things might look in the future, and he acted with the faith that the society of the future would be of a kind that could appreciate good work. He participated in a tradition and contributed to its perpetuation; but at the same time he had an enormous capacity to enjoy the moment, and, no matter how well-laid his long-range plans, they could always be modified to take account of present events. His life was a true development in the sense that there was a deep continuity with the past and at the same time a capacity to adapt to the present in a way that preserved the best of the past and left him capable of further development in the future. It was thus that we see in him the bearer of a great tradition, who, at the same time, was always abreast of, and often ahead of, his times.

The contrast that we have just noted involved but two sides of a highly complex person. The imagery of New England includes not only the granite of her mountains, but the gentleness of her hills and green valleys. There was toughness in Harold, but there was also gentleness and sensitivity and shyness. He was in some ways ill equipped for the rough and tumble of academic life. He never developed adequate techniques for dealing with hostility or irrationality. Each new outbreak of truculence or unreasonable-ness on the part of his academic colleagues seemed to leave him surprised and hurt. That he was able to build up a great Institute in an environment

that was in some fundamental ways inhospitable was due not only to his intelligence, creativity, and judgment of what was important, but also to his persistence, careful planning, and devotion to his purpose; to a special courage that enabled him to go ahead despite awareness of his vulnerability; to his capacity to make friends with people in all walks of life and to win the loyalty of students and associates.

The impressive achievements of the Institute of Child Welfare (the Institute of Human Development since 1958) were due in very large part to Jones' vision in foreseeing the areas of research in human development that would best repay investigation and in finding the people who had the ideas and the personal qualities necessary to continue these developmental studies for a generation. An early event of great significance was the beginning, at Jones' instigation, of a longitudinal study of the mental and motor development of infants in the first years of life. In 1928, he invited Nancy Bayley, who had developed a mental test for young children, to come to the Institute to direct a study which has continued for 30 years and yielded an account of mental and motor growth of normal children that is one of the most clear-cut to be found in the literature. A second, larger study, which Jones initiated in 1929, has been known as the Guidance Study. Knowing of the work of Jean Walker Macfarlane in treating children's problems at the University of California Medical School, he suggested that she evaluate the effects of "guidance" on a normal cross-section sample of the children from a survey of Berkeley children which he had made earlier. In the design of this study, a group matched on socioeconomic variables was also to be examined and studied but not given "guidance." Although the focus of interest changed into an intensive study of personality development in a representative sample of normal children, this study has continued and flourished; and Jones' foresight in initiating this investigation has yielded dividends far beyond original expectations. The third growth study, originally called the Adolescent Growth Study and more recently the Oakland Growth Study (since the subjects of this study are now in their late thirties), is the one with which Harold and Mary Jones were most intimately concerned. It is on the basis of findings from this study that Jones wrote two books and a monograph, in addition to many articles and papers. There is a bibliography of almost 200 publications based on this study alone. Recognition of Jones' creativity in anticipating the value of these growth studies has been accorded him not only in this country but abroad, where a number of developmental investigations have been patterned after the Institute studies.

Many aspects of developmental psychology have been enriched by Harold Jones' work. In the field of mental development, there was the Vermont Study, beginning in 1925, in which he and his associates, Herbert S. Conrad and others, gave individual mental tests to parents and children in a rural community. This project yielded a number of important publi-

cations, the first of which was called "A first study of parent-child resemblance in intelligence" (1928). This study is still the best of its kind in the field; it gives the most clear-cut answer that we have concerning the extent of parent-child resemblance in intelligence. Subsequent studies explored genetic and environmental correlates of mental growth, for example: "Environmental handicap in mental test performance" (1932); "A second study of familial resemblance in intelligence" (1940); "Environmental and genetic implications of parent-child and sibling correlations in the total sample" (1940); "Seasonal variations in IQ" (1941). Jones also made significant contributions in the field of physical-mental relationships and to the study of changes in mental organization in later life.

A second area which he found especially intriguing, and to which he contributed significantly, was emotional development. His work in this field led to such publications as "Emotional specificity" (1928); "Genetic studies of emotions" (1930); and perhaps most important, the series of studies of emotional development in which he used physiological measures as the criteria—"An experimental cabinet for physiological studies of emotions" (1936) and "The galvanic skin reflex as related to overt emotional expression" (1935). The GSR studies were carried on at all age levels— young infants, preschool children, adolescents, and adults. This was the research that excited Jones the most, that he put the most into, and that gave him the most pleasure. Here he was able to combine several of his major interests: an interest in the emotions, which we may understand as an expression of his broader and deeper interest in the biological bases of human behavior; a concern with the nature of adaptation and with the learning of controls in human development; and an interest in instruments and instrumentation. Jones was always fascinated by gadgets and contrivances. He was an indefatigable visitor to laboratories, where he poked around until he was quite sure that he knew how everything worked. And he could invent and fashion, with his hands, gadgets that were useful in the laboratory and contraptions that were useful on the farm. The research on the emotions also expressed Jones' basic preference for the experimental method as opposed to the other methods of psychological science. He liked the objective and the measurable. He was willing to use observational techniques in the study of children, as long as precautions were taken to ensure that these observations were objective; he was happy if other people at the Institute used interviews and projective techniques, but he was insistent that there be careful preparation, in advance, for the analysis of material collected in this way.

The third area of developmental psychology which owes a great deal to Jones is motor development. This area has not been popular among psychologists, despite the obvious importance of locomotor and manipulatory control in the early years of life and the importance of physical prowess to the self-conception of the adolescent. Jones brought out in brilliant fashion

the relationship of motor development to physiological maturation. The monograph "Motor Performance and Growth" (1949) was given an award.

We may gain understanding of Jones' career in research if we note that he was a general and experimental psychologist turned developmental psychologist. He was interested in all aspects of human functioning, and it seems that insofar as possible he wished to study them all in their developmental aspects. Perhaps the major integrating theme in his work was stated by him at the conclusion of his book *Development in Adolescence* (1943) when he spoke of his concern with "the complex ways in which nature and culture come into adaptation."

Although the growth studies constituted the major research focus of the Institute staff through the years, Harold Jones lent his interest and support to all kinds of things which were apparently remote from his immediate concerns, and very different from anything that he would think of doing himself. He fostered a series of studies based on psychoanalytic theory, and early in the history of the Institute he saw to it that problems of human development were seen in the perspectives of the social sciences as well as the biological. Jones himself remarked on the irony in the fact that, although he was brought up as a tough-minded psychologist (and his published work always met the most "hard-nosed" standards), he was often classed with the "soft-nosed" and often indeed found himself spiritually allied with them. We are reminded of the contrast in his character, pointed out earlier. He had the kind of scientific conscience that demanded the highest standards of rigor in research and writing, and yet he had the curiosity and breadth and spirit that left him open to all kinds of new ideas and always willing to give his support to anything that seemed to him the least bit promising. He was in many ways a conservative man, but he was an admirer and friend of rebels. It is difficult to say what major categories of psychologists Jones belonged to. Was he a specialist or a generalist? Was he an empiricist or was he more theoretically oriented? It is hard to say. His own work seemed often to be devoted to quite specific problems, and yet he included within the scope of the Institute's activities the widest variety of research activities and theoretical points of view. He sometimes expressed impatience with speculation, and particularly with the wild ideas, but he was able and willing to nourish within the Institute the most theoretically oriented approaches to problems of personality development. One thinks again of the New Englander and the citizen of the world. If there was an underlying general scheme or frame of reference with which he approached the phenomena of human development, this scheme was no doubt rooted in biology. He was perfectly willing to admit that the biologically-given was susceptible to endless modification, but he wanted to be shown precisely how this modification was brought about. He was willing to entertain all kinds of hypotheses, but in the last analysis his major interest was in what actually happens and under just what conditions.

In the course of his career Harold Jones had studied and improved almost every aspect of the field of developmental psychology. Men like him do not appear very often in science and, since this is an age of specialization, we may expect them to appear even less often in the future. We may hope that developmental psychology will continue to attract men who can do as much for it as he did, each in his own way.

Generations of undergraduate and graduate students at Berkeley will remember Jones as a teacher. One undergraduate said that Dr. Jones was the only professor he had who lectured in sentences. This is an indication not only of Harold Jones' mastery of the language but of the fact that he always had enough respect for his students, or for any other audience, that he came to the platform well prepared. His lectures were models of organization and clarity, and he was so well prepared that he could relax and be witty and entertaining and insert vivid examples as they came to him spontaneously. He was deeply interested in education, both in its theoretical and in its practical aspects. And he was interested in students. He had a rare ability to detect signs of future accomplishment. For 10 years his judgments about students were relied upon by the Fellowship Branch of the Social Science Research Council. And once he had discovered a talent he undertook with enthusiasm and devotion the task of nurturing it. As director of a research institute he always gave more than he received. He could do so many things so well that he must often have been tempted to do a job himself rather than to leave it to someone else, and yet his students and fellow-workers always had the impression that they had been helped but not interfered with. The only limit to the freedom he gave his staff was that set by the necessity of holding the Institute together. He could ask much of his associates in a joint enterprise because he demanded more of himself. And he never failed to give full credit to those who worked with him or published jointly with him. His help to others was modestly, even shyly, given. He often gave help unbeknownst to everyone except its recipient—and sometimes even to the recipient himself—so that when Harold died a great many people not only experienced a sense of loss, but were desolated by the feeling that it was impossible to repay what he had done for them.

Those who knew Harold well will miss him very much and for a long time. It is not only that we have lost a source of inspiration and guidance and of constant support for our best intentions; we shall miss him in a special way, because there was never a dull moment when Harold was around. He always had something interesting to propose for discussion. There was always the warm invitation to participate in one or another of his varied interests. There was the sudden unfolding of a plan, the suggested different way of looking at something familiar, the unexpected humorous remark, the gentle, subtle, often elaborately planned, practical joke, and there was always the ready attention to whatever one had on one's mind. Such was the richness of his personality that people liked him for different

reasons; and each of those who knew him, while sharing with others a general sense of loss, will miss him in some special, personally significant way.

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